

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUDO IN BRITAIN:
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Judo has developed in Britain over a period of approximately sixty years, during which time the scale of activity, the organisational form, the nature of pedagogic processes and the content of rules have changed considerably.

The study initially locates Kodokan Judo in its original social context, Japan, relating its specific initial form to forces within Japanese society in the late nineteenth century. Chapter 2 gives an account of early Judo activity in Britain, before World War Two, giving detailed attention to the social composition of the practising group at the time.

The central empirical focus of the study, in Chapters 3 to 6, is on Judo activity in Britain since 1945, examining authority and organisation, relations with Japan, approaches to training and contest participation, approaches to teaching, rules and refereeing activity. The material presented here indicates that Judo has become more bureaucratic, contest-oriented and concerned with spectator-appeal, losing elements of 'moral/philosophical' orientation which were important in Judo's original conception and which remained so in British Judo up to the early 1960s.

The final chapter provides a sociological explanation of the changes previously detailed, analysing them in the light of certain themes in the original conception of Kodokan Judo, the changing social composition of the Judo population in Britain, the nature of Judo

leadership at different times and the focus of Judo activity in different periods. The overall conclusion on changes in British Judo is that Judo has moved into the 'field of sport', becoming an Olympic sport, with certain of its 'star' exponents achieving high sporting status.

It is concluded that these developments are in line with certain possibilities inherent in the original formulation of Kodokan Judo, which combined traditional Japanese and modern Western elements, reflecting tensions in Japanese society in the Meiji period.

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INTRODUCTION

Judo ('the gentle way') is a Japanese 'combat sport' which has been developed from a number of sources in traditional Japanese martial arts and ways. The technical principle of Judo is that of not directly meeting force with force; the Japanese root 'ju' is often translated as 'gentle' but the idea of 'yielding' may more accurately indicate the operation of the principle.

Contemporary Judo, as an Olympic sport, is controlled by contest rules and the winning of contests is based on four technical elements, throws, holddowns, strangles and armlocks. The term 'combat sport' as a description of Judo thus refers to the fact that, in addition to modern manifestations in sporting contexts, Judo also has a capacity for defensive or aggressive action in 'unarmed combat'.

The topic of this research, that is changes in the organisation and practice of Judo in Britain over approximately the last 60 years, has been influenced by a number of personal factors. The first is the writer's practical involvement in Judo, dating from 1961. At this time, as is indicated in Chapter 4 of the research, there was a feeling among Judoka (Judo players) that Judo was a special activity in philosophical terms, containing significant messages for the individual's life through its approach, beyond any moral messages typically derived from Western sports. During the 1960s, however, it became apparent, from the point of view of a participant, that Judo was changing in various ways, in its spirit and

its organisation, and by the end of the writer's contest career in 1971 it appeared to have changed markedly in character.

One way of summarising these changes is by reference to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'field' (of 'forces') (1). Within the field of sport in Britain, at different times, certain activities will occupy a central place, as national sports (football being a clear example at the present time) while others, although still being seen as sports, will occupy more peripheral positions (2). At the time when it was introduced into Britain, after World War 1, Judo was in effect not in the field of sport, but since that time it has moved progressively more clearly into the field, although still by no means occupying a central place. While there are other examples of sports developing from martial activities, notably archery, and, within athletics, throwing the javelin, there do not appear to be any other instances of this happening outside the area of Japanese martial arts and ways as recently as is the case with Judo (i.e. within the last hundred years).

There are certain issues relating to the basic process of movement into the field of sport, that is how Judo came to move into it and the effects that this movement had on the practice of Judo. In the course of the process, the character of the Judo movement has changed, from that of a 'gentleman's club', in the 1920s, through that of a 'sect', in the 1950s, to that of a 'professional' sporting group, in the 1970s, these characterisations being based, in each case, on a combination of factors, notably the social composition

of the practising group and the nature of the Judo message underlying practice.

Judo constitutes a distinctive study within the area of sport for a number of reasons. Firstly it was imported or transplanted into this country from an 'alien' cultural setting; secondly the comprehensive basis of the moral message of Judo in its original formulation (referred to here as its 'life-forming' message) is unusual; thirdly the technical basis of Judo gives considerable scope for personal domination, which has ramifications for the authority structure of the activity and fourthly, while Judo appears to have been insulated from other sports, to greater or lesser extents at different times, in the past, its inclusion in the Olympic Games of 1964 marks a movement towards the 'mainstream' of sport, a movement with potentially important consequences for practice in the activity.

The study of Judo is significant in a number of ways. Firstly it can add to what is, at present, as indicated in Chapter 7, a very limited area of sociological study, that is the analysis of processes of change within particular sports, changes which are particularly interesting in the case of Judo as they involve movement into, and within, the field of sport. Secondly it can illuminate processes of adaptation of an activity which is to be established in a social and cultural setting very different from that in which it was initially established and thirdly, as is indicated below, it is relevant to consideration of certain conceptual themes important in sociological analysis in general. Thus the writer's involvement in the study

of Sociology led, after some time, to reflections on the changes in Judo observed as a participant. A particular interest here was in the ways in which sociological and 'historical' approaches might be applied to the study of social change, an area of interest strengthened by professional involvements. In the present research extensive use has been made of documentary sources of different types, account has been taken of changes over a relatively long period (at least in terms of 'conventional' sociological study) and there is an attempt to produce an explanation of the changes involved in a relatively specific way, taking account of detailed characteristics of different periods of Judo activity.

The plan of the research involves, initially, the placement of Judo in its historical setting in Japan, looking at it in the context of Japanese martial arts and ways (Chapter 1) and goes on to examine the establishment of Judo in Britain after the First World War (Chapter 2). Here the predominance within British Judo of one club, the Budokwai, means that attention has been focussed on it, as in effect it constituted British Judo in the inter-war period. Moving to the period after the Second World War, attention has been directed to British Judo at a national level, to which it had developed by that time. Here several topics are examined: authority and organisation (Chapter 3), training and contest activity (Chapter 4), pedagogic practice in Judo (Chapter 5) and rules and refereeing (Chapter 6). While in these chapters the main focus is on the period following the Second World War,

material on the inter-war period has been included to provide a background for more recent developments. The aim in these chapters is to give a detailed account of what has happened in these areas of activity, while in the final chapter (Chapter 7) an attempt is made to provide a sociological explanation of the changes. Attention is focussed on two major aspects of Judo, firstly the core organisation of the movement, in the British Judo Association (the Budokwai being comparable in the period before World War 2) as the source of administrative changes which are relevant to Judo players in general, and, secondly, elite players who act as models for others through their activities, although the latter focus is referred to less than is the former.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1) Bourdieu, P. "Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture", Sage, 1977, for example pages 203-4
- (2) The television category of 'minority sports' may be seen in these terms.

CHAPTER 1

MARTIAL ARTS AND WAYS IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

This study is focussed on the development of Japanese 'martial arts', with special reference to Judo, in England. It is, however, necessary to establish the basis for what was transmitted as 'martial arts' in England, in the original forms of activity in their 'home' context, that is Japanese society. In turn the background of the establishment of martial-arts systems is clearly to be sought in the martial history of Japan. While it is not within the scope of this study to examine that history as such, it is easy to establish that warfare has been very prominent in the history of Japan (1), although it could hardly be claimed that this makes Japan distinctive. What does seem to be distinctive about Japan, however, certainly in comparison with Western countries in general, is the degree of complexity in the systems of martial arts developed there, manifested in the formation of institutional contexts of transmission for a surprisingly wide range of skills, that is the 'ryu' system (2). This chapter will thus have two major concerns: firstly to place traditional (and some more modern) martial arts and ways in the social context of their production, transmission and application and secondly to examine the specific development of one form within the 'modern budo' category (see below), that is Kodokan Judo, on the basis of a classical budo form, Jujutsu/Judo of an earlier period.

The first concern involves the analysis of the contents of different traditions in martial arts and ways in the light of conditions, and changes in them, in the wider society. Thus classical bujutsu forms

(see below) reflect the priorities of a society experiencing warfare on a regular basis, with these arts constituting 'high-status knowledge', to be transmitted to an exclusive warrior-group, an element of exclusiveness being maintained, symbolically, in these forms in the present day, although the conditions for their genesis have disappeared.

The appearance of classical budo forms as such may be traced to changing conditions in Japanese society, with a prolonged period of peace (the Tokugawa regime) making practical martial skills less significant than previously.

In addition the focus in the classical budo forms on self-perfection, involving prolonged immersion of the student in training, may be seen as having a significant social control effect in diverting the energies of potential warriors into harmless pursuits; while this is not suggested as a policy on the part of the Tokugawa government, it was clearly of value to them. The change from practical martial arts to more symbolically significant martial ways is also important in pointing to the ways in which shifts of emphasis may occur when activities take on, in effect, a ritual form rather than a practical one. This is illustrated in the account of changes in martial forms involving swords, from a martial art to a martial way emphasis (see pages 27-29). Changes of this sort are thus significant in terms of changes in the content of the activity, its justification and the nature of the practising group, which in turn reflect changes in the influence of different groups in Japanese society over the Tokugawa period.

A most important distinction within what is

often taken to be a single category ('martial arts'), is made by Draeger, with a division into two categories, 'martial arts' as such ('bujutsu') and 'martial ways' ('budo'), which have significant differences between them. Draeger defines martial arts as

"...combative systems designed by and for warriors to promote self-protection and group solidarity" (3)

and martial ways as

"...spiritual systems, not necessarily designed by warriors or for warriors, for self-perfection of the individual" (4)

and suggest differences in the priorities of each system as follows: martial arts - 1) combat, 2) discipline, 3) morals: martial ways - 1) morals, 2) discipline, 3) aesthetic form (5). Within each system, a distinction must be made between 'classical' and 'modern' variants. Classical bujutsu involves those combat systems or forms which developed before the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), that is at times when real combat was common in Japanese society (6), and in a number of cases the systems persisted through the Tokugawa period and indeed up to the present day. Modern bujutsu forms on the other hand have developed since the Meiji Restoration (1868) and, as will be demonstrated, differ in certain significant respects from the classical forms. Classical budo forms developed during the Tokugawa period and again some have persisted up to the present day, while modern budo is a development since the Meiji restoration. The particular characteristics of each form may be examined in more detail, around two organising foci, content: the weapons

or other forms and the techniques involved, and the spirit, purpose and philosophy underlying the content (7)

Classical Bujutsu

Content: the following forms or disciplines are involved - kenjutsu (sword art), with a total, at different times, of more than two thousand ryu; iai-jutsu (sword-drawing art), with more than four hundred ryu; so-jutsu (spear art), with about four hundred and fifty ryu; naginata-jutsu (halberd art), with about four hundred and twenty five ryu; bo-jutsu (wooden staff art), with more than three hundred ryu; jo-jutsu (short stick art), with more than seventy ryu; tetsubo-jutsu (solid iron bar art), number of ryu not known (use of this weapon may have depended to a large extent on sheer physical power); kyu-jutsu (bow art, i.e. archery), with seven major ryu by the fifteenth century; kusarigama-jutsu (sickle and weighted chain art), with about one hundred ryu; tessen-jutsu (iron fan art), with more than one hundred ryu; nin-jutsu (espionage art), number of ryu not known; yoroi-kumi-uchi (art of grappling in armour), with a 'large number' of ryu; hojo-jutsu (cord-tying art, i.e. techniques for tying up an opponent), again with a large number of ryu; ba-jutsu (horse art, or horsemanship), with more than fifty ryu; yadome-jutsu (arrow-stopping art, i.e. deflecting arrows in flight with the sword), number of ryu not known; suiei-jutsu (swimming art or combative swimming), number of ryu not known. In each case the techniques were developed from a basis in practical combat and in many cases reflected the central concern of such combat, that is killing the opponent.

Spirit, purpose and philosophy : the classical bujutsu forms were restricted to the 'aristocratic' professional 'warrior class', who carried arms, and while commoners had some weapons they did not use those of the warrior and were excluded from the study of bujutsu forms, (8). It is not easy to generalise about the degree of openness or otherwise of the warrior 'class' across long periods of Japanese history. Draeger refers to the military profession being

"...fully established as a hereditary privilege"(9) by the tenth century, while, for the period he regards as being that of the true classical warrior, that is the period of the Yoritomo bakufu (military government) in the late twelfth century, he refers to Yoritomo's fighting men being

"men of aristocratic families in the eastern agricultural regions"(10).

However, their being aristocratic did not prevent them apparently being

"...an obdurate, illiterate lot" (11).

There is a significant change, however, from the latter part of the fifteenth century, with the onset of the period referred to as the Sengoku Jidai (period of the country at war). As Storry puts it:

"Those who in that turbulent age had risen from obscurity - foot-soldiers or peasants who became great captains - were eager to accept, genuinely or with lip-service, the code of morality and conduct peculiar to the samurai" (12),

indicating the possibility of mobility, although probably on a very limited scale.

Storry adds

"even during the socially rigid days of the Tokugawa shogunate, from the early seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, there was some movement into and out of the ranks of the samurai. But the traditions remained, the code endured. It was these which gave the samurai his high standing in his own eyes and in those of society as a whole" (13).

This suggests that the samurai should be seen as a strongly bounded status group, not completely closed, but able to maintain its cohesion, and a high degree of exclusiveness, only admitting those outsiders who had demonstrated very special qualities, in line with those expected of people born into the group, these admissions thus not weakening the group nor undermining its basis.

The emphasis in classical bujutsu was on a spirit of practical realism in techniques, based on the need to apply them in real combat, probably to the death. Thus points of etiquette, or aesthetic aspects of the execution of technique would only be of significance in as much as they contributed to practical efficiency, and they were not valued in themselves. There were, however, clearly symbolic elements in the warrior's view of his activities. This was expressed in a moral code; as Draeger says:

"A classical bushi (warrior) was...honor bound to be an efficient fighting man loyal to the Shogun" (14).

He also refers to an 'educational' element in the warrior's study, in the form of certain qualities of character required for, and at the same time developed by, the study, for example,

"...courage, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, obedience, discipline, patience, careful judgement, courtesy and frugality" (15).

There would seem to have been more significant symbolic concomitants of the warrior's activities, however, although they are not viewed in that way by Draeger. He simply makes the following point, which is, nevertheless significant:

" The bushi trusted implicitly in bujutsu to arouse in him a proper attitude, one worthy of trust and respect from others. He thought it spiritless to gain by sweat alone that which could be won by a combination of sweat and danger; this way of thinking led to the bushi's disdain for those of the lower social strata, who through their sweat earned the means to live" (16)

This could be seen simply as the sort of viewpoint characteristic of any aristocratic group, but it is clear that, though practical efficiency was the essence of bujutsu disciplines, they had definite 'ideological by-products' for those studying them. The morality, or the moral assumptions, of the warrior, meant, indeed, that his practical fighting efficiency was limited when moving outside the context in which there were shared assumptions about what 'fighting' was. As Draeger says, the samurai, when faced with foreign adversaries

"...bred on dissimilar ethics, customs, beliefs and fighting methods" (17)

was at a definite disadvantage, so that the enemy would

"...most likely emerge victorious at the expense of the bushi with his rigid habits" (18).

Modern Bujutsu

Content: the following forms or disciplines are involved - batto-jutsu (similar to iai-jutsu but with more emphasis on striking after drawing the sword); keijo-jutsu (police hardwood stick art); taiho-jutsu (police hand-to-hand combat art); keibo soho (police wooden club);

tokushu keibo soho (police collapsible tubular metal truncheon); hojo-jutsu (cord-tying art, i.e. techniques for tying up an opponent); toshu-kakuto (soldier's individual hand-to-hand fighting); juken-jutsu (bayonet art). These techniques again relate to practical combat but in circumstances such as are encountered by social control agencies in the maintenance of law and order (i.e. the police and the armed services), controlling civil disobedience. Because of this 'modern' setting, they do not have the ryu organisation of the classical disciplines. The premise with these disciplines is not the need to kill an opponent of comparable skill, but rather the need to restrain, with the least amount of injury which is practical, an assailant or assailants, probably considerably inferior in combat skills.

Spirit, purpose and philosophy: these derive largely from the point made above about the context in which the forms will be realised. The spirit is defensive, concentrating on restraining, and there is a clear moral element in the humane application of the techniques involved, bearing in mind the probable skill difference between 'assailant' and 'restrainer' (19). Clearly the limited application, or rather the control of effect of the application, is easier to achieve in some of the forms than in others; thus as Draeger says of the 'police hardwood stick', techniques

"...can be applied with the intention either of causing enough pain in an aggressor to discourage him from further action, or of using sufficient force to break bones and contuse tissues and then to incapacitate him" (20),

that is the amount of applied force can be graded to fit

the circumstances. The same point emerges in Draeger's account of the policeman's short wooden club, of the special police club and of police unarmed combat.

Classical Budo

Content: kendo (sword way); iai-do (sword-drawing way); naginata-do (halberd way); kyudo (bow way); jujutsu/judo (hand-to-hand combat).

Spirit, purpose and philosophy: it is in these areas that the major distinction between bujutsu and budo is found, since the techniques involved are shared, in broad terms, with the classical bujutsu repertoire. As previously suggested in Draeger's list of priorities, practical combat considerations are subordinated to the pursuit of spiritual ends. The term 'do', usually translated as 'way', involves a way in life which is to be followed as a spiritual discipline, with the ultimate aim of self-perfection. Draeger traces the development of these forms to the Tokugawa period, when practical combat was relatively rare, although not completely absent (21). As the rationale for bujutsu was thus to an extent removed (although their practice did not disappear), there was something of a hiatus within which amended versions of bujutsu techniques could be developed. Warriors who were becoming bored with life and lacked a spiritual focus, and commoners, who during the Tokugawa period were becoming more influential, at least in economic terms, and who felt a need to achieve self-respect through creative activity, could find an interest in these budo forms.

There is in these forms a strong 'philosophical' element; in Draeger's words:

"The do forms are indissolubly tied to Zen. They are, in fact, plastic Zen. They are the means by which Zen is kept in touch with everyday life" (22).

Again,

"All these disciplines are complicated, intricate challenges in the pursuit of a better way of life, and are based on the firm conviction that no man is as complete a human being as he can be after sufficient experience with the do" (23).

Clearly the classical 'do' forms are designed to have a great influence on the life of the individual studying them, but, in the absence of any claim of practical combat effectiveness, their 'external' significance is highly limited. That is their value is 'turned inwards', affecting the individual directly though arguably 'benefiting' society in providing examples of people manifesting virtues attained only through considerable effort. Draeger says of the master of the 'do' form (the meijin) that he is

"...a living example of an ordered, disciplined life" (24),

an interesting parallel with religious ascetics in other societies. It is thus interesting that Draeger provides examples of such masters who have also become Zen priests(25).

Modern Budo

Content: kendo (sword way); judo (the way of 'gentleness' or 'yielding'); karate-do (the way of 'empty-hand', striking techniques); aikido (an 'empty-hand' system involving to a large extent wrist-locks and throws and emphasising smooth, circular movements); nippon shorinji

kempo (an adapted form of Chinese Shaolin, again an 'empty-hand' system involving throwing, striking and kicking techniques); kyudo (bow way); naginata-do (halberd way); juken-do (bayonet way).

Spirit, purpose and philosophy : in some cases (i.e. in some instances within each discipline) these elements are similar to those in classical budo, but in other cases additional elements have entered. Draeger suggests, for example, physical exercise and education, self-defence for everyday life, athletic and recreational activity and sport as purposes sometimes attached to modern budo (26); these would not be applicable, as major purposes, to classical budo. The example of the transition from Jujutsu to Judo is considered in detail later in this chapter as an example of the way in which modern budo disciplines are formed.

The characteristics outlined above suggest a number of points about the place of martial arts and ways in Japanese society. These points will be examined in relation to two main themes: firstly the relationship between the form and content of martial arts and ways and the state of Japanese society at the time, and changes in the form and content related to changes in the state of society, and secondly, the relationship between forms of activity and the nature of the practising group.

Martial Arts and Ways in the Broader Social Context

The most obvious point to be made here is that the 'pure' form of classical bujutsu arose within a society where lethal combat was a regular occurrence and that,

taking the form (bujutsu) overall, it was 'diluted' under general conditions of peace. Classical bujutsu forms thus became one element in a picture which came to include budo systems with significant differences in character from bujutsu. The rise of classical budo within the generally peaceful setting of the Tokugawa regime would seem to suggest support for the Elias 'civilisation' thesis (27) in that, over time, these forms steadily shifted in emphasis away from techniques for killing an opponent and further towards aims of spiritual development with the eventual goal of self-perfection. As Draeger has stressed, budo disciplines came increasingly to incorporate 'unrealistic' and 'combatively inane' elements of technique (28). Such developments should be looked at in forms central to classical bujutsu, on their shift to budo form. Changes may be looked at specifically in kenjutsu and iaijutsu, in their development as 'do' forms, since they involve the sword, which may be taken as having been the supreme weapon in the classical bujutsu. A number of points may be made to illustrate the combatively impractical nature of kendo and iaido practice in comparison with kenjutsu and iaijutsu (29).

Kendo: 1) the dojo (practice-hall) gives ideal conditions for practice (e.g. a smooth, level floor, calm air etc.) as compared with the reality of natural terrain; in this situation consideration of the aesthetic aspects of movement can enter, in addition to practical combat requirements.

2) the 'full-front' stance in kendo is different from the kenjutsu 'half-front' stance, designed to

protect the heart.

3) the mock sword used in kendo (the shinai) is considerably lighter than a 'live blade' and the types of movement possible with it may be unrealistic.

4) the cutting action in kendo tends to be a 'touch' rather than a 'cut' and the kendo straight-arm cutting action lacks impact relatively.

5) the target area in kendo is restricted in comparison with that in kenjutsu, where the whole body is the target and weaknesses in the opponent's armour could be, and indeed had to be, exploited.

Iaido: 1) the kneeling posture (seiza) often used as the starting-point for iaido techniques is a 'dead' posture; Draeger states that the classical warrior

"...much preferred iai-goshi, a low crouching posture in which his right knee was raised; this kept him off damp or soiled surfaces and afforded him instant mobility and great speed in drawing his sword to meet an emergency" (30),

but he sees seiza as a posture

"...well-suited to an urban, peaceful way of life" (31),

used frequently in ordinary life in the Tokugawa period.

2) this involves the actual action of drawing the sword, which, in iaido

"...is generally done far too slowly, and in a manner that withdraws as much as eighty percent of the blade from the scabbard before any appreciable speed of action occurs" (32).

3) the action of 'chiburi', that is 'shaking blood off the blade' is done in an 'inefficient' way, bearing in mind that a classical warrior would have cleaned his blade with a cloth or piece of paper.

4) the final act of returning the blade to

the scabbard ('noto') is made quickly, as a demonstration of skill. The classical warrior would have returned the sword slowly and carefully, manifesting 'zanshin' (continued alertness and concentration) in relation to his surroundings, but in the case of iaido the swift return of the blade to the scabbard is positively valued as a test of concentration and 'feel' in the technique, the blade passing close to the fingers of the left hand, which is holding the scabbard.

5) a more general point is made by Draeger about the understanding, or lack of it, of the classical warrior's customs or 'manners' on the part of iaido exponents. One manifestation of a lack of understanding is the condition of a swordsman's koiguchi (the open end of the scabbard). Draeger quoted Taisaburo Nakamura, a 'master technician' of martial studies and one devoted to 'practical realism':

"I have carefully examined many hundreds of swords belonging to modern swordsmen, and scarcely have I found one of which the koiguchi ...was unscarred" (33).

The significance of this point is that the classical warrior evaluated skill-levels by the condition of the koiguchi, which would only be damaged if the return of the sword to the scabbard was not done correctly.

Martial Arts and Ways and Their Clientele

As has been indicated, in general, classical bujutsu disciplines, at least up to the Meiji Restoration, were reserved for warriors, usually of aristocratic stock; under the ruling of 1588, by Hideyoshi Toyotomi, commoners were in general forbidden to carry weapons and were not permitted to study the disciplines

associated with them. There is still a clear selective element in recruitment to surviving classical bujutsu ryu, that is the requirement that the aspiring trainee prove to the master of the ryu that he is of suitable character to be admitted for training. In effect this has to be done through the introduction and recommendation of the aspirant by

"...somebody whom the headmaster trusts implicitly" (34),

after which he is required to undergo a 'probationary period' before full approval of membership. Draeger adds that there is a clearly selective approach (which involves social grounds), so that the headmasters of the classical bujutsu ryu, who are normally descendants of famous Japanese martial families,

"...place a preference on candidates who stem from similar ancestry" (35).

Also,

"Candidates who are engaged in military or law-enforcement professions, because of their familiarity with discipline, are also preferred candidates" (36).

It is, however, possible for individuals outside these preferred backgrounds to gain entry given that they have

"...a mental makeup and outlook on life that indicate the existence of a wholesome personal character" (37).

This point can be seen in the same light as that made about the backgrounds of warriors up to the Tokugawa period (see page 21), in that there is a combination of ascribed and achieved elements here in status requirements for admission to particular bujutsu disciplines.

Thus there are clear ascribed elements, for example in descent from warrior families, but there is also the

possibility of people from other backgrounds being admitted should they be able to show themselves possessed of personal qualities which might be expected to characterise those of the 'preferred' background. The combination of ascribed and achieved elements is, however, clearly effective in maintaining the group 'intact' in terms of its social character.

In the forms of modern bujutsu the practising group is clearly defined in advance by the nature and purpose of these forms, that is means of control used by social control agencies in hand-to-hand encounters. In all these cases the highly effective and therefore potentially dangerous nature of the techniques involved is an important reason for limiting access to them.

One of the most interesting processes associated with the development of classical budo systems is the broadened base of recruitment, that is the tendency for commoners to be admitted to training in these disciplines during the Tokugawa period. In some cases this access gave commoners a chance to study in relatively impractical contexts with mock weapons, which would not have been permitted them in their real form, while in other cases the study of 'empty-hand' disciplines could be seen as an alternative to weapon-systems, giving some practical training in hand-to-hand combat and also giving satisfaction through the spiritual and aesthetic aspects of the disciplines. The influx of commoners into classical disciplines also appears to have contributed, in some cases at least, to developments away from the 'pure budo' spirit and perhaps towards the category of 'sport' with,

for example, exhibition contests with mock weapons before paying spectators. Such developments seem to reflect the interest of increasingly affluent commoners in entertainment and diversion (38). The lack of martial background and knowledge in commoners is also a reason for a tendency to the 'dilution' of general martial content in the form and approach of those disciplines supported largely by commoners (39).

In the case of modern budo disciplines the tendency to relative openness of recruitment has been taken further, with no categorical restrictions on entry. Two factors which are relevant to this may be indicated. Firstly the dangerous nature of the techniques is less than in other types of discipline, as the techniques move away from combative reality (to different extents). Secondly, as will be shown in the particular case of the development of Judo in Japan, there may be 'modern Western' elements in the philosophy of the discipline, for example in terms of educational ideas, and these may favour a more 'open' approach to recruitment.

Bujutsu, Budo and Sport

Certain of the developments outlined above point to the need for an additional dimension in examining the overall picture of martial arts and ways, that is the place of 'sport' forms and their relationship to budo forms.

Aspects of the relationship between bujutsu and budo have already been examined. In brief the distinction is rather clearer in relation to spirit, purpose and philosophy than in relation to the actual techniques

involved. However, the changes in technique in the transition from bujutsu to budo are obviously significant in relation to spirit and philosophy, involving a shift from practical emphasis, oriented to actual combat, to a spiritual emphasis, following rigorous self-discipline as a means to self-perfection.

It is clear, however, that, in some cases even during the Tokugawa period, there were developments in classical budo disciplines which moved them towards the category of sport. Modern disciplines are seen by Draeger as having sport involvement as one of their possible defining features (40). Draeger's view of sport seems to involve two main elements, firstly that technique is regarded as being more important than individual spiritual development (41) and secondly that there is a competitive structure, with concomitant development of rules to control such competitions (42).

It would seem that one important factor preventing the development of sport applications in bujutsu disciplines is the dangerous nature of the techniques involved. On the other hand a move from budo to sport form is facilitated by aspects of the technical development of budo forms, for example the use of mock weapons and protective equipment, reduction of target areas and the intrinsically rather less dangerous nature of disciplines such as Judo and Aikido (at least in comparison with weapon-systems in jutsu form). This in turn is viewed by Draeger as producing a very artificial form, with restrictive rules and limitations on technique, removing what were originally fighting forms too far from the

'battlefield' (43). In such cases, however, trial contests are possible. This development in turn then necessitates a rule-structure and in time may lead to the development of larger organisations controlling the competitive activity, gradually replacing the more fragmented form of organisation comprising individual ryu. From Draeger's point of view a sport form is likely to impose limitations on the individual's progress and development, at least by the standards of classical budo as a stress on competitive activity lessens the individual's concentration on self-perfection (44). In general Draeger is highly critical of the tendency, in modern budo disciplines, towards 'blatant progressivism' (45), not respecting tradition but using it for personal prestige, for example. He considers modern disciplines as being susceptible to an 'over-subjective' approach which produces selfishness and egocentrism, ignoring the intrinsic values of 'do' and attending to the superficial (e.g. entertainment and amusement) rather than to true spiritual development (46). Sport is seen as looking for rapid results, rather than taking a longer time to achieve 'worthwhile' results. There are thus several factors in Draeger's view of modern sport which lead him to see such forms as largely representing a source of distraction from the true values inherent in classical budo disciplines. The ways in which Judo has taken on an increasing 'sport' orientation will be considered later in this study.

Jujutsu and Judo in Japan

In the foregoing section of this chapter, an account has been given of the shift from a 'jutsu'

emphasis to a 'do' emphasis, both forms being part of a classical tradition. In the following section the emphasis is on changes occurring with the transition from classical to modern form (marked by the Meiji Restoration in 1868), a transition exemplified by the development of Kodokan Judo from Jujutsu. Here particular significance is to be attached to conditions within Meiji society, in particular the rapid influx of modern Western ideas and practices into traditional Japanese society. The tensions produced by this process of change are clearly exemplified in Jigoro Kano who, as will be shown, was subject to conflicts between traditional Japanese and modern Western influences on thought. Kano's codification of Kodokan Judo on the basis of traditional and new features is thus symbolic of the development of a new form of society in Meiji Japan.

Within the broad framework of martial arts and ways outlined above, the specific transition or development which is most relevant to this study is that between Jujutsu (47) and Judo. The background to the emergence of Kodokan Judo is to be found in the long tradition of 'weaponless' systems of combat (or hand-to-hand combat systems) in Japan. The term 'weaponless' is in fact not strictly accurate for describing all of these and 'hand-to-hand' may give a clearer impression of what is involved.

In examining the history of forms in which weapons are absent or are subordinated to weaponless techniques, it is convenient to identify a number of periods of development of these forms. The first is

that before the establishment of the Tokugawa regime, with certain significant developments in the way in which such forms operated, and the third that of the Meiji regime, being the period in which Jigoro Kano was studying Jujutsu form and developing Kodokan Judo.

The Development of Jujutsu: 1) The Pre-Tokugawa Period

The place of hand-to-hand fighting in the pre-Tokugawa period (48) is to be seen in terms of an element in the warrior's practical fighting repertoire, the techniques being used when a warrior had lost one of his main weapons (e.g. his sword), and sometimes in conjunction with small concealed weapons (e.g. a dagger). In either case many of the techniques were based on the premise that the combatants would be wearing armour, and were applied accordingly (49). Shortt and Hashimoto suggest that these techniques were not in practice to be used against opponents armed with a sword or spear, except in circumstances of the most extreme danger (50), rather it was assumed that they would be most appropriate to circumstances when both combatants were without major weapons. Under these conditions, given that the combatants were in armour, certain types of technique relevant to hand-to-hand fighting in other situations, such as striking with the hand or kicking, were not advisable, being more likely to injure the person trying to apply them than the opponent (51). It is interesting, in the light of developments in the Tokugawa period, to note that Hoare speculates that the peasant foot-soldiers ('ashigaru') of the pre-Tokugawa period, who were less armoured (and of course

of lower status than samurai) may have used kicking and punching techniques (52). The techniques used by samurai, on the other hand, centred on throwing down the opponent and controlling him on the ground, plus joint-locking techniques against the opponent's sword-arm (53).

While, as Hoare points out, the throwing and joint-locking techniques were not 'one attack - certain death' ('hito-gekihissatsu') techniques, and were thus to be used

"...to merely control violence" (54),

they were also often used to manoeuvre the opponent into a position where a smaller, concealed weapon could be used (55), thus finishing the engagement. Two elements in any form which must be considered in this context are the practicality of the techniques involved and their 'character-building' or ethical significance; these are points reflecting the emphasis in 'jutsu' and 'do' forms respectively, as previously described. The forms of hand-to-hand combat in pre-Tokugawa times clearly emphasised practicality, having a practical-combat battlefield orientation. Also, as an example of the classical bujutsu category, they involved the development, and the exemplification, of certain moral qualities. In addition to those previously mentioned (see page 21), Hoare refers to the development of a mind

"...unmoved by ideas of victory or defeat and since defeat meant death a mind unmoved by the prospect of death" (56).

The Development of Jujutsu: 2) The Tokugawa Period

As with the more general foregoing discussion on 'jutsu' and 'do' forms, the Tokugawa period is of considerable significance in the question of the

development of Jujutsu, indeed Shortt and Hashimoto state that the very term Jujutsu (which they render as 'Jiu Jitsu') did not exist before that period (57). Classical hand-to-hand ryu continued to operate through the Tokugawa period, although, as Draeger suggests, the effects of peace

"...eventually eroded this sense of practical realism" (58)

(which was characteristic of classical bujutsu). One other effect suggested by Draeger is a tendency for ryu to specialise more (e.g. in one weapon), so that in some cases 'empty-hand' techniques came to occupy a more important place in the teachings of some ryu than previously (59). This development also relates to another highly significant trend, the gradual admission of commoners to some of the hand-to-hand forms. The classical bujutsu forms were definitely the prerogative of the samurai, thus being available only to a restricted elite group. Under the Tokugawa regime commoners (60) were forbidden to carry weapons (61) and so were likely to be interested in weaponless systems (62) (which could include striking and other techniques against people not in armour). Had the classical bujutsu ryu all stayed in their original form, commoners would not have had access to their techniques, but the conditions of Tokugawa society meant that they were not all able to retain that form. While Draeger does not make the point explicitly, the ability of commoners to obtain access to weaponless forms is a reflection of the relatively low status of such forms in comparison with those based on weapons. Thus he

(Draeger) suggests that

"...the fragmentation of some of these ryu (the oldest classical bujutsu ryu) into a number of different styles provided commoners with a chance to obtain information regarding martial matters that had heretofore been unavailable" (63);

that is, they (commoners) were perhaps able to learn techniques in 'lower status' forms as these became detached in separate ryu rather than staying in ryu which also involved weapon-systems, to many of which commoners would still not have had access. The comment by Draeger refers to the oldest (pre-Tokugawa) ryu, and he also points out that other ryu were founded in the Tokugawa period, which were popular with commoners through the period (64). Some ryu were indeed created by commoners (65) and these, along with those whose clientele was composed mainly of commoners, concentrated increasingly on 'empty-hand' combat; Draeger attributes this to a lack of proficiency in 'martial studies' among commoners, who could not have gained genuine combat experience with weapons. Draeger also suggests that the high degree of specialisation in the ryu (involving empty-hand techniques in this case)

"...caused the gradual degeneration of their jujutsu into an aesthetic discipline that had much in common with the noncombative spirit of the classical budo forms" (66).

This suggests something of a shift in the balance between practicality and moral elements, at least in some ryu. Other comments by Draeger suggest, however (Draeger does not make the point explicitly) that the spread of the knowledge of weaponless systems to people outside the traditionally defined range of recipients (who, as

warriors, would be presumed to be adherents to a strong moral code) could have led to some weakening of the moral code associated with classical budo systems. He thus suggests that while warriors and commoners engaged in Jujutsu during the Tokugawa period,

"...the latter gave it more notoriety" (67) .

He goes on:

"Jujutsu for the commoners was largely an 'empty-hand' method of fighting in the scuffles met with in daily life. As such, jujutsu was most useful to the 'nanushi' (managers) of houses of prostitution" (68)

Thus these managers might on occasion need to calm down an 'inebriated' warrior, presumably without doing him too much harm. This comment is interesting in two ways. Firstly, it is (implicitly) a comment on the effects of spreading knowledge of fighting forms to those not traditionally involved in learning them, and without the possession of the moral code which would guide the use of the techniques in 'responsible' ways. There is nothing in what Draeger actually says which states that such knowledge was misused, for example by nanushi, indeed the reference to a troublesome, drunken warrior suggests that the moral code of warriors 'slipped' on occasions at this time; however it is not stretching the point very far to argue that the spread of knowledge was clearly risking its misuse, a point which could perhaps be made in relation to any popularising process. This leads directly to the second point, that is the fact that certain ryu permitted the spread of techniques to 'new' recipients. In some cases, of course, where ryu were created by commoners (in which case, as Draeger

points out, they developed only in empty-hand techniques (69)), it would be expected that the students would be commoners (it would be hard to imagine warriors being prepared to receive instruction from commoners), but this point would not apply to the older ryu which eventually, towards the end of the Tokugawa period, began to admit commoners. As will be seen, Jujutsu instructors experienced difficult times during the Meiji period, with a reaction against traditional practices causing a fall in demand for their services; clearly this point is not applicable to the Tokugawa period itself, but Draeger does provide certain 'hints' which help towards an explanation. Firstly he points to a general decline of 'martial spirit' in the way of life during the Tokugawa period (70); in one instance he refers to the fact that

"Bushii and commoner alike sought the frivolities of life, the loneliness of religion, or such solace as could be found in the pursuit of the mysterious and unknown, in their attempts to forget their essential boredom with life" (71).

The first of these possibilities is particularly interesting in the light of other comments by Draeger on developments during the Tokugawa period. Thus he refers to signs of corrupt practices among classical budo exponents, involving 'crass exhibitionism' where

"Some exponents turned to using their skills to earn money by entertaining an audience that had paid a small admission fee to see something sensational " (72).

There is thus here a clear indication of a decline in moral standards over the Tokugawa period (in relation to martial ways), which would have removed one possible obstacle to the spread of knowledge to possibly

unsuitable recipients. In addition there is a hint of a development of a greater wish, or need, to make money from martial skills, a development which would also have been facilitated by a decline in moral standards.

While the developments referred to here cannot be assumed to apply to the whole range of Jujutsu activity in Tokugawa Japan, they do reflect certain important aspects of change in that period. In particular, the opening of various budo forms to commoners is highly significant, as a reflection of conditions during the period, with a loss of direction for the classical bujutsu disciplines in a time of peace; this is significant as a background to the more sudden and dramatic changes experienced during the Meiji period. It is clear, however, that there were some ryu which attempted to maintain high standards of technique and morality through the Tokugawa period (73).

Jujutsu to Judo: The Meiji Period

The third stage to be examined is the Meiji period. One highly important point about this period is the speed with which many Japanese moved to take up various aspects of the 'Western way of life' involving a taste for Western literature, educational ideas and ways of behaving (74), with a concomitant reaction against traditional Japanese customs and institutions. Among these traditional practices was Jujutsu, which suffered considerably at this time, with Jujutsu masters frequently being unable to attract pupils. Thus the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo' refers to various Jujutsu schools

"...tottering on the brink of ruin" (75),

while Harrison refers to the dojos (practice-halls) being 'almost deserted', with the teachers 'starving' (76). These conditions also seem to have led to an accentuation of the 'moral' problems which were developing in the Tokugawa period (e.g. exhibitions for money). Thus Draeger states that

"With the decline of jujutsu, the prestige of many legitimate experts was also lowered. Many skilled exponents, because of their social and even economic plight caused by the lack of disciples, turned to giving burlesque performances or to issuing challenges to all comers for the amusement of an admission-paying audience" (77),

while Shortt and Hashimoto make a similar point:

"With no more samurai or daimyo, no one had any use for martial arts teachers. Some became members of the Yakuza ('gangsters'), protecting brothels and gaming houses, as 'rough-housemen', some went on the stage to demonstrate their arts for money, others opened academies of the Martial Arts, so it was with Jiu Jitsu " (78).

As will be seen, these conditions were highly relevant to the fact that Jigoro Kano founded his Kodokan Judo and to the way in which this happened. Kano is recognised universally as the founder of Kodokan Judo; his individual contribution is so critical to the foundation of Judo that it is necessary to examine his background and ideas in some detail.. He was born in 1860, in the seaside town of Mikage, near Kobe, about three to four hundred miles from Tokyo, to which the family moved in 1871 (79). There is some disagreement among writers about the exact nature of Kano's background (80) but he clearly came from a 'commoner' family and would not have been part of the highest status level under the status system operating in Tokugawa society.

He is said to have been physically weak as a boy, being subjected to considerable bullying (81), and became very concerned to improve his health and physique, which he did initially through 'Western' activities such as baseball, rowing and gymnastics (82). Subsequently (in 1877, at the age of 17) he enrolled in the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu whose master, Hachinosuke Fukuda, died shortly afterwards, although Kano was able to continue study under Fukuda's successor, Masatano Iso. When Iso died, Kano moved to the Kito Ryu (in 1881) under Tsunetoshi Iikubo (83). The most significant point about this experience is perhaps that Kano was admitted to the 'secret teachings' (hidden) of both schools (84). He also made what Draeger calls an 'academic study' (85) but what Shortt and Hashimoto term a 'cursory study' (86) of other ryu, notably the Sekiguchi and the Seigo. The history and approach of the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu and the Kito Ryu will be considered in more detail below.

As is indicated by his date of birth, Kano grew up in a period when Western influences were being felt in Japan, and, as the Meiji Restoration occurred when he was eight, spent many of what may be regarded as his 'formative' years in that period (in Tokyo from the age of eleven onwards). His education reflected Western influences very strongly. He studied English from the age of fourteen and in 1877 enrolled in what became Tokyo University, graduating in 1881 in English and Politics (87). Additionally, he came to Europe, between 1889 and 1891,

"...to observe, inspect and absorb the best from the foreign educational systems" (88),

having by this time begun to establish himself within the Japanese educational system (89). It is thus clear that Kano was exposed to 'modern' (Western) as well as to 'traditional' (Japanese) ideas and practices (90) and Kodokan Judo can be seen to combine these elements, as will be indicated later.

The Kito Ryu and The Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu

As stated above, Kano's main experience of Jujutsu was in the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu and the Kito Ryu; taking these as representing 'traditional' areas of activity, it seems that experience in them would have given Kano varied technical examples on which to build his Kodokan Judo (91). As Draeger indicates, the Kito Ryu was founded before the Tokugawa period by Sensai Ibaragi,

"...a warrior of low status" (92), and was clearly oriented to practical fighting (i.e. on the battlefield), involving the study of a number of weapons as well as of grappling. Draeger demonstrates that later 'headmasters' of the Kito Ryu were influenced by the teachings of other ryu in which unarmed combat forms were relatively prominent (93). Further, from the time of the fifth headmaster (Kan'emon Terada), the teachings of the ryu were

"...aesthetically oriented, bearing little resemblance to those that had comprised the original Kito Ryu. Kan'emon placed strong emphasis on the development of form in the execution of techniques and was less concerned with physical results than he should have been when dealing with any realistic art of combat" (94),

that is there was movement towards a 'do' form. Another point which is of potentially great importance in

relation to the development of Kodokan Judo by Kano is that

"Kan'emon declared his empty-hand techniques to be 'ran', 'freedom' and encouraged his disciples to 'ran o toru', that is, to 'take freedom' in the execution of their techniques, insisting that they move about freely and make changes when they saw fit" (95).

This clearly involves some deviation from the classical approach (in bujutsu and in most budo ryu) based on following rigidly a set form of technique (that is 'kata' , this approach is also referred to in Chapter 5) and can be linked to Kano's development of 'free practice' ('randori') in Kodokan Judo. A final point of great significance relating to Kan'emon Terada is that, having retired as headmaster of the Kito Ryu, he founded the Jikishin Ryu, which studied only weaponless forms and stressed mental training, and that he referred to the system involved in that ryu as 'Judo', this being, according to Draeger, the first known use of the term (96). The Kito Ryu is referred to by Draeger as lacking 'martial fibre' in the Meiji period. The instructor within the Kito Ryu under whom Kano studied also stressed 'ran' and

"...demanded only moderately vigorous physical training, more attention being given to abstract symbolism in connection with physical technique. Emphasis in the Kito Ryu was laid on 'nage-waza' or 'throwing techniques' " (97).

The Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu was founded in the first half of the nineteenth century by Mataemon Iso, who had been a student of the Yoshin Ryu (98) and the Shin no Shinto Ryu,

"...both of which included very little study for martial ends" (99);

he emphasised empty-hand techniques and his ryu attracted a large proportion of commoners among its students (100).

Iso was a samurai, (although apparently of low status within that category) and it is to this fact that Draeger attributed an element of réalism in his teachings, for example in paying attention to techniques for dealing with attacks by weapons; also he adhered strongly to the method of kata as a training for combat (101). It appears, however, that the 'combative realism' of Iso was not matched by later headmasters of the ryu. While Draeger states that

"In the Meiji and later eras the teachings of this ryu degenerated into an aesthetic approach using empty-hand tactics in abstract situations" (102),

he elsewhere suggests that, in the Meiji era, it

"...still had the reputation of being an effective art of self-defense (sic)" (103)

and that the headmaster, at the time at which Kano was a student, (Hachinosuke Fukuda)

"...provided rigorous training for his few disciples " (104)

in the areas in which the ryu specialised at the time, striking techniques ('ate-waza') and grappling techniques ('katame-waza', that is immobilising and joint-locking techniques). It is apparent from the history and approach of each of these ryu that experience within them ((105) would have given Kano a quite comprehensive basis for the development of Kodokan Judo. He had experience of throwing, grappling and striking techniques, and had been involved in 'hard' and 'softer' approaches to training, with kata, and, if not what emerged later as Judo randori, at least an element of freer movement and practice (in the Kito Ryu). A more detailed account of the

continuities and changes between Kano's experience of Jujutsu and his formulation of Kodokan Judo will be given below, but it is useful first to examine his motives in undertaking his various studies.

Traditional and Modern Elements in Kodokan Judo

In looking at this, the significance of the previously mentioned combination of 'traditional' and 'modern' elements in Kano's experience and thinking will be further demonstrated. Kano's motivation in formulating Kodokan Judo may be summarised in terms of two elements, firstly a wish to preserve elements of traditional martial arts and ways and secondly a wish to present a form of activity suitable for a particular audience in a changing social environment. While Kano had a good deal of experience of 'modern Western' life and thought, he also showed concern for certain Japanese traditions; as Draeger suggests, he

"...regarded jujutsu as an object of national culture, a cultural aspect worthy of the respect of the nation. He therefore resolved to restore jujutsu to its rightful place" (106).

Further, Shortt and Hashimoto see him as having

"...envisaged the Kodokan as an institute that would preserve all the teachings and techniques of the various Jiu Jitsu ryu by bringing together all the great teachers of the various styles under one roof for a common aim" (107).

His interest extended beyond Jujutsu, to take in martial forms using weapons (108). At the same time, as part of the above quotation from Draeger (n.106) suggests, referring to restoring Jujutsu to its 'rightful place', Kano was concerned at the state into which Jujutsu had fallen, and wished to present it in an 'improved' form.

This idea is referred to by a number of writers and the basic accounts they give may be quoted as follows.

Harrison states that

"Dr Kano insisted upon the ethical as well as the purely physical aspect of this system" (109)

and in a similar way Hoare (translating Tomiki) says that

"Jigoro Kano took great pains to ensure that his judo should not be merely a form of sport or unarmed combat and stressed the mental or spiritual side of it" (110).

Koizumi suggests that Kano

"...conceived an idea of adapting the training as a means for physical and mental training" (111),

adding that

"...he formulated a system and placed it in the domain of science where it is free from the petty dogma and tradition, the inhibiting factors of progress" (112).

These points are elaborated in the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo', taking quotations from an 1898 lecture by Kano.

Having referred to the practical value of Jujutsu,

Kano goes on:

"But it was necessary to improve the old Jujutsu to a certain degree in order to popularize it, because the old style was not developed or devised for physical education or moral or intellectual training" (113).

The use of the term 'popularize' here is most significant, indicating a shift from the traditional, exclusive approach in the ryu and reflecting Kano's 'modern Western' approach to physical education (114), wishing to spread practice of Judo to a wider audience. It is also clear, however, that he was aware that he needed to convince particular types of people of the value of Kodokan Judo. Thus Draeger, having reported Kano's view that Jujutsu in at least some ryu had become dangerous and appeared

irresponsible, quotes him as follows:

"It thus turned out that the word jujutsu carried with it an unfavorable association in the minds of some in higher classes. Hence my desire was to show that my teaching, in marked contrast to jujutsu teachings as interpreted by the men of those classes was quite free from danger and was not to be used as a means for reckless aggressiveness..... (My system) if taught under the name jujutsu might prove unacceptable to persons of the higher classes" (115).

This quotation is interesting for a number of reasons.

While the point is not explicit in Kano's words (nor in any subsequent comment by Draeger) it seems reasonable to suppose that the 'men of the upper classes' to whom Kano was referring were those in positions to oppose the spread of Judo in, for example, educational settings; also those people would have been likely to consider criteria of a 'modern' type (for example opposing the sort of violence that might have been associated with the 'feudal past') in evaluating Judo. Koizumi does refer to Judo being regarded, in the early days, as a

"...cruel and vicious practice" (116),

the view being prejudiced by ideas about Jujutsu, and to some of Kano's early pupils being

"...obliged to elude the family objections under cover of taking English lessons" (117)

(which Kano gave). These parents might have been another group of 'upper-class people' (Draeger suggests that Kano taught Judo only

"...to people of the highest moral qualities" (118))

whom Kano wished to convince of the value of Judo; it is necessary, however, to eliminate what might be seen as one interpretation of Kano's motivation in this case, that is, financial gain, with a concern for loss of 'business'

should Judo be opposed. Thus Koizumi records that

" The pupils were admitted for a nominal fee (or free of charge) and in some cases they were provided with board and lodging" (119),

while Harrison supports this assertion, stating that

" The fee charged for tuition at the old Kodokan was astonishingly small - only thirty sen a month or less than eightpence, in addition to an entrance fee which was not usually less than a yen but which could be increased by those disposed to do so" (120)

(the period referred to here is the early years of the twentieth century).

There is thus an indication of the need for Kano to be 'politically' sensitive in reconciling a wish to maintain traditional activities with a need to consider modern ideas and feelings. Secondly, the reference to 'class' is important. Draeger suggests that Kano's background

"...made him extremely aware of social class differences in terms of class morals" (121),

while, as has been indicated, there is some disagreement as to the specific nature of Kano's social background, he certainly came to occupy positions of high status in Japanese public life, so that his 'class awareness' could have developed during his working life if not during his childhood.

While discussing Kano's motivation in formulating his Judo it is relevant to examine his choice of the title 'Kodokan Judo' for the activity. As has been indicated, the term 'Judo' had been employed in the Jikishin Ryu, and the use of 'do' rather than 'jutsu' has 'ethical' ramifications, as has been discussed previously and as is indicated in the foregoing quotations about the 'improvement' of Jujutsu in Judo. In addition,

as earlier references show, the way in which Jujutsu was likely to be viewed in Kano's time made it 'politically' necessary not to use the term 'Jujutsu'. The use of 'Kodokan' is also interesting. What may be termed the 'official line' on this is given in the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo', quoting Kano himself:

"Then, to distinguish (sic) it from the 'Jikishin Ryu' which employed also the term Judo, I called my school the 'Kodokan Judo', though the title is rather long" (122).

Draeger makes a very similar point, suggesting that Kano used the word 'Kodokan'

"...in order that his judo teachings might be distinguished from the judo of the classical styles" (123),

but Shortt and Hashimoto give a rather different emphasis, and one which seems justified in the light of earlier remarks about Kano's need for 'political awareness':

"There was a certain amount of political method in this move, since it had been the Kodokan Academy at Mito in Ibaragi province. This academy (the name is formed with different calligraphy from Kano's), was a scholastic academy not a martial arts school and had given rise to the liberal pro-Western thought that had led to the overthrow of the Shogunate and establishment of the Meiji government" (124).

The choice of the name 'Kodokan Judo' is another reflection of the combination of old and new, traditional and modern, that has been shown to be characteristic of Kano's activities. Given the fact of this combination, it is now necessary to examine and summarise those elements of continuity between Jujutsu and Kodokan Judo and those elements of change produced in the latter, in

relation to the former.

Technical Continuities and Discontinuities Between
Jujutsu and Kodokan Judo

A statement of continuities is given by Kano himself and is quoted in the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo'.

Discussing the reasons why he chose the name 'Judo' and did not give the form an entirely new name, Kano states that his Judo

"...is generally based on what I had learned from former teachers" (125).

Draeger makes a similar point, but considerably more strongly:

"Any honest and thoroughgoing analysis of Kano's original Kodokan Judo techniques reveals the fact that all of them without exception were in some manner already being used by the older classical bujutsu or budo systems" (126).

More specifically, Hoare, (translating Tomiki) suggests that, on the basis of his Jujutsu experience, Kano taught Judo under three principles: 'natural posture' ('shizentai'), 'giving way' ('ju') and 'balance-breaking' ('kuzushi') (127). The first refers to the posture from which giving way operates for defensive purposes and balance-breaking for attack; balance-breaking refers to disturbing the opponent's balance so that an attacking technique (which could be a throw or a joint-lock, for example) may be applied. It is the second principle, however, that of 'giving way', which is central to any consideration of Kano's work, as it is necessarily an element of continuity between Jujutsu and Judo.

As Hoare outlines it, the principle of ju operates so that

"...violence is not directly opposed" (128).

One manifestation of this would be avoiding an opponent

touching one by the use of 'combative distance' ('ma-ai'), while, if an opponent came to grips, ju would involve giving way before an opponent's action, so that his balance might be broken. Looking at the background of the concept, reference has already been made to the Yoshin Ryu (n.98) and to the idea of 'giving way' associated with it. Draeger argues that, during the Tokugawa period, while at least some ryu maintained a practical-combat orientation, then the principle of ju was also 'practical' (129). Within classical bujutsu disciplines Draeger identifies ju as an underlying principle, used by the 'classical warrior' to intercept the enemy's blade or, if unarmed, to throw the opponent (130). The principle is taken to have two aspects, one being 'yielding', that is, as Hoare indicates, not directly opposing the force of the opponent's attack, rather warding it off and so using energy economically. This, however, only neutralises the enemy's action and, beyond this it is necessary to apply some action as a counter-attack. In some instances, therefore, 'resistance' is permitted (if yielding would be disadvantageous) but,

"...such opposition to the enemy's actions is only momentary and is quickly followed by an action based on the first aspect of ju, that is of yielding" (131).

This point leads logically to some consideration of the place of strength in Jujutsu and Judo. Draeger states that

"...the act of yielding can be made with strength, specifically, a flexible kind of strength. That which yields is not necessarily soft or weak in a quantitative sense, though its acts of yielding may be so in a relative sense, and it only is temporarily softer and weaker than that which opposes it by being unyielding" (132).

Kano's own experience of physical training in his youth

"...allowed him to recognise and appreciate the merit of physical strength in athletic endeavor" (133),

so that, as is discussed below, 'physical culture' became one element in his 'three-culture' principle'. It was the misuse of strength rather than the presence of strength as such in Judo technique which was opposed by Kano and, for example, he apparently agreed with a statement by one of his pupils, Sumitomo Arima, to the effect that

"Instances often occur in which it is found advantageous for one to employ an unusually large amount of strength or to exert strength directly against strength in defeating an enemy" (134).

There are indeed precedents for such use of strength, as Draeger again indicates, for example in

"...the teachings of Ichikawa Mondaiyu, a warrior who taught reliance on brute strength as the best way to overcome a foe. Mondaiyu referred to his style of combat as 'kowami', which implies 'tough physical exercise' "(135),

while the Muteki Ryu and, interestingly, the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu advocated the use of strength within the operation of the principle of ju (136). Kano's ideas on the principle of seiryoku-zenyo ('best use of energy' or 'maximum efficiency') are discussed below; it is, however, clear that there were considerable elements of continuity between Jujutsu and Kodokan Judo in technical terms, and, given Kano's background in Jujutsu it would be surprising if this was not so.

Apart from such 'theoretical' bases of continuity between Jujutsu and Kodokan Judo, two further indicators of continuity may be provided. Firstly, apart from elements of technique from the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu and the Kito Ryu brought into the Kodokan through Kano's

experience, there were elements of teaching of other ryu, as people experienced in them joined the Kodokan, for example:

"...Yoshimaki Yamashita, Sakugiro Isago (Tenjin Shin'yo and Yoshin lineages), and Saigo Shiro of the Daido Ryu" (137).

Secondly, there is some disagreement about the point at which Kodokan Judo emerged as a distinct form. What may be referred to as the 'official Kodokan Line' is as follows:

"Then he established his own school, named Kodokan, in 1882 and began to teach his own exercise calling it Judo instead of Jujutsu" (138).

Draeger, whose approach may be taken as generally following the 'official line' fairly closely, puts forward a similar account:

"In 1882, Kano emerged with a synthesized system and established himself, under the humblest of circumstances, at the Eisho-ji, a temple in the Shitaya area of Tokyo. Kano called his new system Kodokan Judo, and began teaching nine new disciples in a dojo of only twelve 'tatami' (rice-straw mats used for flooring, each approximately three feet by six feet)" (139).

On the other hand, Shortt and Hashimoto simply state that

"By 1882 Kano had his own Kito Ryu (i.e. Jujutsu) dojo at the Eishoji temple" (140)

and imply that Kodokan Judo as such only emerged over the next few years, taking some time to mature from a style into a 'syllabus' (141).

It is possible to identify a number of changes introduced by Kano (or aspects of Judo which are claimed as changes). One point, to which reference has already been made, is the use of the term 'Judo' as opposed to 'Jujutsu'. While, as has been shown, the term 'Judo' was not actually coined by Kano, it has been claimed

that Kano introduced a new moral and educational emphasis, by comparison with Jujutsu in his time (n.109-113). This is not an unreasonable claim but rests largely on the fact that Jujutsu in Kano's time had perhaps 'degenerated' in moral as well as practical terms by comparison with earlier periods, and would not necessarily apply to Jujutsu as such. Thus 'weaponless' forms intended for use in actual combat were involved in what has been referred to as the development of a mind 'unmoved by the prospect of death' and while this might not contradict Kano's own statement that moral or intellectual training was

"...nothing but the incidental blessings or benefits of the former (i.e. Jujutsu), which was exclusively devised for winning" (142),

the contrast between Kodokan Judo and Jujutsu might not have been so clear if comparison had been made with earlier Jujutsu forms rather than with Meiji era Jujutsu. It is, however, a reasonable claim that Kano, in Kodokan Judo, advanced a more explicit moral and educational 'philosophy' than had probably been associated with Jujutsu, and this philosophy, involving for example the notion of 'mutual welfare and benefit' ('jita kyoei') is examined in more detail below.

One 'administrative' development involved in Kodokan Judo, although it may not have been a pure invention on Kano's part, is the grading system (143). Shortt and Hashimoto thus record that a form of grading was introduced into the Ryoi Shinto Ryu (Jujutsu) in the seventeenth century, with three grades,

"The first grade being shodan, the second chudan and the third and final grade 'osho' " (144).

Harrison refers to a similar system in the Shinnoshindoryu, with the ranks named 'shodan', 'chudan' and 'jodan' (145). However, Shortt and Hashimoto also state that,

"...though the Jiu Jitsu schools of the Tokugawan era did not possess themselves of a Kyu-Dan system as was invented by Jigoro Kano, some of the schools of Jiu Jitsu in the Meiji era did adopt such a system of ranking" (146).

Again, Gleeson, referring to the grading system, comments as follows:

"There are still some people who think this is a judo monopoly. Quite wrong of course. It exists in all Japanese indigenous arts and crafts, ranging from chess and flower-arrangement to Judo and fencing" (147).

This unfortunately does not specify whether the system was established before the modern era or during it; however Draeger refers to

"...the ranking system used in many modern disciplines" (148)

and his account of the training process in classical budo disciplines, in which he identifies stages of personal development (see Chapter 5) does not give any indication of a division into definite institutional phases, as occurs in the Judo grading system, which Gleeson refers to as being

"...mainly an indication of the individual's status within the particular structure" (149).

There is thus a degree of uncertainty about how far the grading system of Kodokan Judo was truly an innovation on the part of Kano, but it appears that at least he developed what had been a relatively undifferentiated system into a considerably more differentiated one.

One other innovation claimed for Kodokan Judo

is the randori method (150); thus Hoare states that

"It was Jigoro Kano who first implemented the idea of randori" (151).

On the other hand, Draeger makes the point that Kano's experience in the Kito Ryu (where there was an emphasis on 'ran' or 'freedom', see page 46)

"...had given him the idea for ran-dori" (152).

As in other cases, however, it cannot be denied that Kano at least took a relatively 'unformed' aspect of a practice and put it on a more systematic basis.

It is perhaps relevant here to consider the place of kata in Kodokan Judo, in relation to continuities and changes between Jujutsu and Judo. As has been stated, kata was the basic training method in classical budo disciplines and it was also an important element in Kodokan Judo (153). Of the individual kata, one, Koshiki-no-kata, is a direct reflection of Kano's Jujutsu experience; in Gleeson's words,

"...the Koshiki is a kata that he took on permanent loan from the Kito Ryu" (154).

He does, however, add,

"Whether he took it over just as it was or whether he modified it (to suit his own ideas) I have not been able to discover" (155).

Other individual kata are referred to by Gleeson as having been 'devised' by Kano (156), but this point should be seen in the light of that made by Draeger, previously referred to, that all the original Kodokan Judo techniques were already in use in older systems. Thus the devising of the kata may have involved not the 'invention' of the individual techniques so much as their arrangement in forms with particular underlying themes, to demonstrate principles relevant to Judo practice.

Turning to more specific points of technique, a number of innovations have been attributed to Kano. The first, which is described by Draeger as

"Perhaps Kano's biggest contribution to empty-hand techniques" (157),

is the practice of gripping the opponent's 'garments' to apply techniques. This point is interesting as another reflection of the combination of 'traditional' and 'modern' elements in Kano's system. Thus there is perhaps an element of 'combat realism' associated with gripping, in the wearing of a 'costume' by Judoka.

Thus Harrison states that

"The theory of Judo, however, is largely based upon the justifiable assumption that in nine cases out of ten your opponent in a quarrel in real life would be clad in ordinary garments" (158).

Clearly when reference is made here to 'combat realism', certain types of combat will be excluded; as Draeger says of classical bujutsu forms,

"...gripping is almost absent in the truly classical arts of combat, the bujutsu, where it would have proved to be not only a dangerous practice but one that would rarely have been possible because combatants usually wore some kind of armour" (159).

It should be stressed that what is referred to here as an 'element of combat realism' in Judo has to be seen as a 'pale' form of combat relevance and one which would probably not be recognised as such by Draeger, for instance. Certainly Kodokan Judo overall could not be regarded as a practical combat form, and Draeger's placement of it in the 'modern budo' category, with strong sport overtones, is entirely justified. In the way that Kano saw moral and intellectual training as

'incidental blessings or benefits' of Jujutsu, which was 'devised for winning' (n.142), it is perhaps reasonable to see practical combat effectiveness as an incidental benefit of Judo, which is primarily (in Kano's conception) a means of moral and intellectual training. It is therefore interesting that Draeger makes no reference to the 'combat' justification of Judo being practised in garments (so allowing for gripping), but rather looks at it as a 'modern' aspect of Kano's approach, in terms of the 'safety' value of gripping:

"...it (gripping) affords a high margin of safety for the one being thrown...the thrower can control the pattern and rate of fall of his opponent, making a safe landing possible instead of leaving his victim to gravity" (160).

This point leads directly to consideration of another innovation claimed on behalf of Kano, the system of breakfalls (ukemi) intended to avoid injury on being thrown by cushioning the impact of the falling body.

As Draeger says:

"In most jujutsu systems the thrower would hurl down his victim and the latter would have to fall as best he could. Kano had seen with his own eyes the crippling results of this practice. He therefore devised a special manner in which ukemi was to be learned without running undue risk of injury" (161).

These two examples, gripping and breakfall techniques, help to reinforce the picture of Kano as someone who neither applied his Jujutsu experience unchanged nor invented completely fresh practices, but was rather, to use Draeger's term, an 'adapter', but one who

"demonstrated considerable originality of thought" (162).

These innovations, taken together, are of considerable significance in pointing to the character of Kodokan Judo and its connections with preceding martial forms. Firstly, the choice of the name 'Kodokan Judo' is itself important in marking an identification with pro-Western thought and activity and removing Judo from any association with the 'feudal past', symbolised by Jujutsu. Secondly, grading, as a much more differentiated system than any in earlier Jujutsu schools, marks a move towards an explicit system of sequence and progression in the individual's career in Judo, in contrast with the approach to the transmission of budo knowledge in classical disciplines (see Chapter 5), where sequence and progression are implicit, an individual master determining entirely an individual student's progress without providing any explicit benchmarks in the career. There is thus, with a differentiated system of grading, a more explicit reproduction of the activity, criteria for the assessment of degrees of practical competence being more clearly laid down than in classical budo disciplines, where they remain 'in the master's head' until the student is made aware that he has satisfied them to a degree felt appropriate by the master. This development may be seen as symbolising changes in Japanese society, with the development of an industrial, increasingly urbanised society making outward marks of competence valuable, these not being needed when the dominant relationship in training is between two individuals on a long-term basis. Thirdly, the randori method marks a departure from the closely prescribed relationship between master and pupil

characteristic of classical disciplines based on kata as the learning method. In turn, Kano's codification of kata marks an opening-up of the principles of the form of Judo; rather than being housed with particular masters, the kata were laid down and thus were more publicly available to students. This is again significant in the context of an expanding urban-industrial society, suggesting a more public and impersonal mode of transmission of the form. The two specific technical points referred to, that is gripping and breakfalls, are also important in general terms. The combat realism of Judo, in the sense of applying techniques against an opponent wearing the equivalent of everyday clothing, is thus the realism not of the battlefield but rather of the street, or of civilian contexts in general, although, as has been argued (page 60) the significance of combative competence in Judo (i.e. combat outside Judo practice) should not be overstated. It is also possible to see what has been referred to as the 'safety value' of gripping (see page 61) in a rather different light. Thus the control of the opponent, allowing a safe landing for him/her, is also clearly of importance in allowing manifestation of dominance over the opponent, the ability to control the opponent sufficiently to ensure a safe landing indicating the degree of superiority of the thrower. In addition, techniques of gripping can (although they will not always be used in this way) enable the players to adopt an elegant upright posture. The leverage available from gripping the opponent's lapels, for example, may well be equivalent to that which, without gripping as such, would

have to involve reaching around the opponent's waist to his/her back, which tends to lead players into a crouching posture. It is interesting that the crouching posture, along with such a hand and arm position, in certain techniques in Nage-no-kata is usually explained in Judo in terms of these techniques first being devised for fighters wearing armour; these techniques are in contrast with those employing grips on the jacket lapel and sleeve, where an upright posture is adopted. Gripping in the 'Kano fashion' thus brings about the greater possibility of aesthetic criteria being applied to Judo, rather than simply criteria involving fighting effectiveness. Finally, the introduction of breakfalls may be seen in terms of 'civilising' the form, making it more acceptable in a less martially oriented society; this point may also be made in relation to gripping, in terms of its safety value.

A conclusion on the question of continuities and changes between Jujutsu and Kodokan Judo is thus that Kano's experience of Jujutsu provided a comprehensive foundation for the technical development of Kodokan Judo, in that the techniques on which the latter was based were part of the 'curriculum' of Jujutsu, while Kano amended some of these and emphasised and developed particular technical elements, such as gripping and breakfalls. Apart from technical considerations, Kano produced a shift of emphasis, particularly in comparison with Jujutsu as it seems to have operated in the Meiji period, in presenting an approach and philosophy based largely on 'modern' elements of thought which his contact

with Western ideas helped him to develop. The major elements of this philosophy will now be examined.

Kano's Philosophy of Kodokan Judo

Jigoro Kano's thought on Judo may be seen in the broader context of his thinking on education. It should be noted that, in addition to founding the Judo movement, Kano had a highly successful career in education, as Director of the Tokyo Higher Normal School (now Tokyo University of Education) and as Chief of the Education Bureau of the Ministry of Education (163). In the former capacity, which clearly gave him considerable power to innovate, he instituted a course in physical education in normal schools, involving gymnastics, Judo and Kendo (Japanese fencing) (164). His educational thought appears to have attached considerable importance to harmony between what he referred to as the 'three cultures', that is the intellectual, the moral and the physical, opposing any education system which stressed one at the expense of the others (165).

The mingling of physical and moral aims can also be seen clearly in Kano's thinking on Judo, in the fundamental principles of 'Jita Kyoei' ('mutual welfare and benefit') (166) and 'Seiryoku Zenyo' ('maximum efficiency' or 'best use of energy') which he applied to Judo activity. Jita Kyoei involves the idea of self-perfection, which in turn necessarily involves service to the community (mutual benefit). The idea of self-perfection is expressed by Kano (writing in 1923) as

"...to become spiritually and physically well developed, and attain the highest possible satisfaction which today's culture is able to offer" (167).

This self-perfection can only be attained if the individual is aware of his or her relation to others; thus in attaining one's own welfare and benefit it is necessary to help others to do the same. 'Welfare and benefit' is taken by Kano to be

"...a condition attained when one is physically healthy and well developed, and in possession of high intellect and morals, together with a highly developed ability to appreciate beauty. Socially one must have the adequate means to appreciate and enjoy the benefits offered by modern civilisation, and furthermore, one must have the love and respect of others" (168).

The element of 'mutuality' here is expressed by Kano as follows:

"In order to truly benefit oneself, one must also take into consideration the benefit of society. The greatest prosperity to oneself can be attained through service to humanity" (169),

and, again:

"A person who is not able to look after himself cannot do anything to benefit the world... in order to give the full benefit of one's own effort of service to others one must take into consideration one's own welfare at the same time" (170).

This again expresses clearly the extremely close interdependence seen by Kano to exist between individual development and social development and welfare. The relevance of the principle of jita kyoei to Judo is very strongly felt by Kano:

"The ultimate object of Judo, is also the ultimate object of man", "to perfect one's self, and serve humanity" (171);

again:

"...those practicing (sic) Judo must constantly bear in mind and endeavor for self-perfection and service to society" (172).

The principle of Seiryoku zenyo (translated by

Maekawa and Hasegawa as "the utmost use of one's energy' or in short 'maximum efficiency' " (173)) may appear to be a relatively narrow technical prescription relating to Judo, but in fact it has a wide range of applications. The concept of 'energy' is clearly of importance for Kano; it is interpreted by Maekawa and Hasegawa in terms of a 'living force', with which a person is born, and which has spiritual and physical components (174). Kano's idea of the 'most effective use of energy' is most interesting as a reflection of 'modern Western' ideas of rationality (175); writing in 1919 Kano refers to it as follows:

"Whatever a person does, he must do so in order to obtain good results. The best means for obtaining good results is to use one's energy in the right direction with as little waste as possible, and effectively" (176).

Kano makes further points which demonstrate a concern with the rational systematic arrangement of daily life.

For example, as Maekawa and Hasegawa suggest:

"...he made observations on the various aspects of life and discovered that life was full of waste. In this regard he said that 'Many people are daily wasting much of their energy', and also, 'unnecessarily remain idle', and in some extreme cases even 'abuse their energy' (Yuko-noKatsudo: Vol 8, No 2, 1922). He severely criticised the waste involved in the clothing habits of the Japanese, and also their haphazard way in which visits (to friends) are made without regard for the convenience of others" (177).

In addition he refers to

"...oversleeping, overeating or talking unnecessarily" as "hindrances to one's success" (178).

Maekawa and Hasegawa suggest that Kano's

"...desire to adopt modern rationalism and efficiency"

stemmed from his observation, at the age of fifteen, of

a friend who studied

"...without wasting a single moment"

and later achieved great success (179), but it is most likely that his support of rationalism and efficiency is also attributable to Kano's experience of Western life and his observation of industrial society in the West.

The principle of Seiryoku zenyo is, however, seen in concentrated form in Judo practice. Draeger quotes Kano's pronouncement (revealing what Draeger sees as Kano's 'scientific reasoning') on the best use of energy, in particular the principle of 'gentleness'. Faced by an opponent, 'B', whose total strength can be represented as ten units, a person, 'A', with a total strength of seven units could not resist B pushing with all his force. By 'withdrawing' the body, however, A would place B in an awkward position, with his balance lost and perhaps only three units of strength available to him. In these circumstances A could (having retained his balance) by the application of only half his strength ($3\frac{1}{2}$ units) overcome B. Kano suggests that, even if A's strength was superior to that of B and he was capable of pushing B back, if pushed,

"...it would still be better (more efficient) for me first to give way, because by so doing I should have greatly saved my energy and exhausted my opponent's" (180).

The approach can be summarised in the statement of one of Kano's 'disciples', Sumitomo Arima:

"Viewed in this light judo is not an art to be wondered at; on the contrary, it merely employs strength in the most effective way" (181).

The distinction between physical and mental aspects of Judo is reflected in Kano's distinction between 'Judo in the narrow sense' ('kyogi' Judo) and 'Judo in the wide sense' ('kogi' Judo) (182). The former involves training to acquire a physically sound body and training to develop expert contest skill; these types of training are referred to as 'rentai-ho' and 'shobu-ho' respectively (183).

Kogi Judo involves 'shushin-ho', that is

"...mental cultivation in terms of moral standards" (184).

The exponent of kyogi Judo may reach a state of being 'mature' in a technical Judo sense, but it is only within the realm of kogi Judo that he will be able to attain 'social maturity' (185); kogi Judo is thus put forward as representing a higher stage of development than kyogi Judo. While it may be tempting to associate best use of energy with kyogi Judo and mutual welfare and benefit with kogi Judo, such interpretation does not appear to be justified. Thus Maekawa and Hasegawa suggest that, in kyogi Judo,

"...manifestations of his (Kano's) principles of 'Jita-kyoei' (mutual welfare and benefit) and 'Seiryoku-zenyo' (maximum efficiency) can be realised only in the sports ground" (186),

the wider social applications being reflections of the kogi Judo approach. The division between kogi Judo and kyogi Judo was also an institutional one for Kano, in that, as Maekawa and Hasegawa say:

"The former he taught at the Kodokan, and the latter at the Cultural Association, Kodokan" (187),

which he had founded

"...to improve every phase of our daily life" (188).

Judo in Its Original Social Context

Looking at Judo in the context of its background in Japanese society, its development may be summarised briefly as follows. In terms of 'long-term' influences, the development of Judo must be traced back to earlier forms of martial arts and ways. Up to the Tokugawa period martial arts were the practical training of an 'aristocratic' warrior elite (partly recruited on an achievement basis) for combat to the death, and included 'unarmed' forms, largely involving grappling techniques. In the Tokugawa period, with peace prevailing, while martial arts continued to be practised, martial ways appeared and became more important. These came to include forms based exclusively on unarmed techniques, involving striking, for example, which were relevant to combat without armour, away from the battlefield, and which may be seen as constituting Jujutsu. The practice of these forms spread to commoners, whose status, notably economically, was increasing, and the forms took on a more 'spiritual' focus than that in martial arts. From the point of view of the 'classical' martial arts' these processes are to be seen as constituting a dilution of martial disciplines. Towards the end of the Tokugawa period there are signs of what is interpreted by 'traditionalists' as moral degeneration in these disciplines, with a developing 'commercial' focus, for example.

The more specific background to the development of Judo largely concerns the activities of Jigoro Kano. Two important points about the development of Judo are, firstly, the state of Jujutsu in the Meiji period and, secondly, the background and character of Kano himself.

With the process of rapid Westernisation in the early Meiji period, Jujutsu, as a 'traditional' activity, suffered a decline and indeed appeared in danger of dying out; it also had an unfavourable reputation for violence and a low moral tone at the time. The most important point about Kano is, perhaps, the combination of attachment to tradition and a sensitivity to the demands of modernity in his thought and activities. Thus, specifically in relation to Jujutsu and Judo, while seeing Jujutsu as a part of the 'Japanese heritage', so being worthy of preservation, he wished to ensure that Judo was presented in a manner that would make it acceptable to a high-status Japanese 'audience' with a modern outlook. He thus took over much of the technical repertoire of Jujutsu, drawing on his experience of Jujutsu schools, but put a stress on a modern educational and moral approach in his Kodokan Judo, which contrasted with the approach of Jujutsu at the time. It is clear, however, that Kano must not be seen purely as an innovating individual; he represents in a dramatic fashion the tensions and conflicts of Japanese society in the Meiji period, of which he was a product, the tensions and conflicts centreing on the balance to be struck between traditional Japanese and modern Western ways of life. Kodokan Judo should thus be seen as something of a hybrid form, combining traditional and modern elements, and one designed explicitly for a high-status audience, not because (as had been the case before the Tokugawa period) it was a lethal fighting form, to be restricted to a warrior elite, but rather because the

moral tone sought by Kano might best be maintained by such a group of educated, high-status people. Kodokan Judo may thus be summarised as being initially a relatively exclusive, morally-directed physical activity, capable of assuming a 'sport' form but with some self-defence capacity resulting from its practice.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1) This can be established by reference to virtually any general history of Japan. There are also rather more specialised works relevant to the topic. To take a few examples from a very large literature: Varley, H., Morris, I & Morris, N, "The Samurai", Penguin 1974; Duus, P., "Feudalism in Japan", Knopf 1976; Lewis, A., "Knights and Samurai", Temple Smith 1974. In the series of books by D. Draeger to which reference is made in this chapter, the first two ("Classical Bujutsu", Weatherhill, 1973 and "Classical Budo", Weatherhill, 1974) contain relevant background material. Reference is made quite frequently to these and to the third book in the series ("Modern Bujutsu and Budo", Weatherhill, 1974) as they represent the most comprehensive approach to this topic available in English.
- (2) 'Ryu' is often translated as 'school'. It is perhaps best to think of it in terms of a 'school' in art, as a style or approach (e.g. the 'Flemish School'). Draeger refers to ryu as follows: "There is no single word in the English language that can correctly or adequately describe the meaning of this term, but for convenience the ryu may be thought of as approximating a martial tradition. The ryu is, in fact, a corporate body, perpetuated by a line of lineal or collateral ('sei') or nonconsanguineous ('dai') headmasters" ("Classical Bujutsu", op.cit., pages 21-21).
- (3) Ibid., page 19
- (4) Ibid., page 19
- (5) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 36
- (6) See references under note 1
- (7) The mode of transmission of these forms is clearly an important point and this is dealt with in detail in Chapter 5.
- (8) Draeger, "Classical Bujutsu", op.cit., page 53
- (9) Ibid., page 25
- (10) Ibid., page 26
- (11) Ibid., page 26
- (12) Storry, R., "The Way of the Samurai", Orbis, 1978, page 13
- (13) Ibid., pages 13-14

- (14) Draeger, "Classical Bujutsu", op.cit., page 54.
The shogun ('generalissimo') was originally the
Emperor's 'first commander for military affairs'
but after the time of Yoritomo Minamoto (in 1192)
shoguns became established as separate power-
holders for much of Japanese history up to 1868,
though they still generally appealed to the
institution of Emperor for legitimacy for their rule.
- (15) Ibid., page 56
- (16) Ibid., page 54
- (17) Ibid., page 22
- (18) Ibid., page 23
- (19) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., pages
58-9
- (20) Ibid., page 69
- (21) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., pages 13-21
- (22) Ibid., page 25
- (23) Ibid., page 25
- (24) Ibid., page 27
- (25) Ibid., e.g. page 75, pages 96-7
- (26) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 59
- (27) Elias, N., "The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological
Problem", in Dunning, E. (Ed.), "Sociology of
Sport", Cass, 1971
- (28) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., pages 33-5;
Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 60
- (29) Ibid., pages 106-8, pages 67-8; Draeger, "Classical
Budo", op.cit., page 89
- (30) Ibid., page 89
- (31) Ibid., page 89
- (32) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 67
- (33) Ibid., page 68
- (34) Draeger, "Classical Bujutsu", op.cit., page 106
- (35) Ibid., page 107
- (36) Ibid., page 107
- (37) Ibid., page 107

- (38) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., e.g. pages 100-1
- (39) Ibid., page 117
- (40) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 59. It is in relation to the concept of sport that Draeger's generally analytical approach gives way to a polemical one, in which references to the character of sport are accompanied by derogatory comments.
- (41) Ibid., page 51
- (42) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., e.g. page 125
- (43) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 60
- (44) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 125
- (45) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 178
- (46) Ibid., page 180
- (47) As will be seen, the term 'Jujutsu' is not applicable to all forms of 'weaponless' combat in Japanese history but it is relevant to the specific question of the emergence of Kodokan Judo.
- (48) Draeger traces techniques involving grappling in armour back as far as some fifteenth-century ryu.
- (49) Draeger suggests that warriors might be in full armour, light armour, or no armour, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 112
- (50) Shortt, J. & Hashimoto, K., "Beginning Jiu Jitsu Ryoi-Shinto Style", Crompton, 1979, page 15
- (51) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 107. A similar point is made by Hoare, S. ("Judo and Jujitsu", Judo, Vol.17, No.6, February/March 1974, page 32). This is a re-translation of the article by K. Tomiki, "Kodokan Judo and Its Technical Development Which Contributed to the Modernisation of Budo", Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan, Tokyo, Report III, 1969.
- (52) Hoare, op.cit., page 32
- (53) Ibid., page 32. This point should be seen in the context of Shortt and Hashimoto's reservation (n.50)
- (54) Ibid., page 32
- (55) Shortt and Hashimoto, op.cit., pages 14, 15 and 19. (Shortt and Hashimoto list a series of nine weapons very closely associated with Jujutsu technique, ibid., pages 14-15); Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 107

- (56) Hoare, op.cit., page 30
- (57) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 15
- (58) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 106
- (59) Ibid., page 106, pages 108-9. The narrowing can be explained by the movement away from conditions involving actual warfare (which would encourage the study of a number of weapons and combat situations) towards those encouraging 'budo' type study which, given the emphases in such study, could be undertaken in a narrower way.
- (60) Under the Tokugawa regime a 'class-system' of fixed groups was introduced, with (in descending order of status) warriors, farmers, artisans and merchants, of whom all but the warriors were commoners. This system was abolished in the Meiji period. See e.g. Befu, H., "Japan: An Anthropological Introduction", Chandler, 1971 pages 122-3
- (61) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., pages 116-7
- (62) Ibid., page 117
- (63) Ibid., page 116
- (64) Ibid., page 116
- (65) Ibid., page 117
- (66) Ibid., page 118
- (67) Ibid., page 114
- (68) Ibid., page 114
- (69) Ibid., page 117
- (70) Ibid., e.g. page 17, page 32
- (71) Ibid., page 32
- (72) Ibid., page 94
- (73) Ibid., page 114
- (74) See e.g. Sansom, G., "The Western World and Japan", Vintage Books, 1973, Chapters 14 and 15
- (75) Kodokan, "Illustrated Kodokan Judo", Kodansha, 1955, page 7
- (76) Harrison, E., "The Fighting Spirit of Japan", Foulsham 1955, page 49
- (77) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 113

- (78) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 35
- (79) The basic biographical details are recorded in similar form by Shortt & Hashimoto (op.cit., page 36), Kodokan (op.cit., page 7) and by Gleeson (Gleeson, G., "All About Judo", EP, 1975, page 93)
- (80) Gleeson (op.cit., page 93), refers to him as a 'country boy' while Draeger ("Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 114), states that he came from "...an affluent and influential merchant family".
- (81) Kodokan, op.cit., page 7; Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 112
- (82) Ibid., page 112; Maekawa, M. & Hasegawa, Y, "Studies on Jigoro Kano: Significance of His Ideals of Physical Education and Judo", Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan, Tokyo, Report II, 1963, page 2
- (83) These points relating to Kano's Jujutsu career are reproduced in similar form (with some variation in the amount of detail provided) by Draeger ("Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 113), Shortt & Hashimoto (op.cit., page 36) and Kodokan (op.cit., page 7)
- (84) Kodokan, op.cit., page 7. The secret teachings were only passed on to those students who showed themselves worthy (for example they had studied diligently and appeared responsible) of receiving them. The teachings often involved more dangerous (or effective) techniques, for example those involving striking against 'vital points' on the body. Kano introduced a regulation in Kodokan Judo laying down that students should not be taught striking techniques (atemi) or those of resuscitation (kappo, or katsu) until they had attained Dan grade.
- (85) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 113
- (86) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 36
- (87) Gleeson, G., "Jigoro Kano and Joh Stuart Mill", unpublished paper, 1980, page 2.
- (88) Ibid., page 4. Lister records that Kano studied at Oxford University in 1885 ("GK", Judo, Vol.9 No.9, June 1965, special section of tributes, 14th page - pages not numbered) but Gleeson does not refer to this in his 'biosketch' of Kano.

- (89) He went on to become Director of Tokyo Higher Normal School (now Tokyo University of Education) and Chief of the Education Bureau of the Ministry of Education.
- (90) It is not assumed here that 'modern' and 'Western' elements are necessarily identical. As Kishimoto (Kishimoto, H., "Modernism versus Westernism in the East", Journal of World History, Vol VII, No. 4, 1963) has indicated, the two can be separated in relation to Japanese experience in the late nineteenth century. Here, however, 'Modern' is equated with 'Western' as Kano would have experienced both elements through one set of ideas and experiences.
- (91) That is, Kano's experience of 'traditional' practices included varied elements and his experience of the traditional was also mingled with experience of modern, Western practices. Thus his construction of Kodokan Judo had a number of mixed components, making it a 'sifting' process rather than one of invention.
- (92) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 118
- (93) Ibid., page 118
- (94) Ibid., page 119
- (95) Ibid., page 119
- (96) Ibid., page 119
- (97) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op cit., page 113
- (98) The Yoshin Ryu ('Willow-hearted School') is significant in relation to the concept of ju as the founder of the school, Yoshitoki Akiyama, is said to have been impressed by the capacity of willow branches, through their suppleness, to 'give way' under a weight of snow, 'throwing' it off, while the more rigid branches of cherry trees broke under the weight. (see Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 22, Harrison, op.cit., page 35).
- (99) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 119
- (100) Ibid., pages 119-20
- (101) Ibid., page 120. Kata or 'form' is defined by Gleeson (Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., page 87) as "...a contrived movement pattern, which is intended to improve skills by increasing accuracy, through the medium of discipline, that the repetition of the sequence (of movement) imposes on the participants"; it involves isolating an aspect of a total skill and rehearsing it intensively. Kata was the basic training method for classical forms and for modern bujutsu where the techniques, because of their 'practicality' were too dangerous for 'freer' forms of practice. 78.

- (102) Ibid., page 120
- (103) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 113
- (104) Ibid., page 113
- (105) Shortt & Hashimoto (op.cit., page 33) record that Kano earned a 'teaching licence' ('Menkyo Kaiden') in the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu, indicating that he acquired a considerable degree of competence in that form.
- (106) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 113
- (107) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 38
- (108) Ibid., page 38. Draeger ("Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., pages 95-5) gives a photograph of Kano, dating from 1921, with a group of classical bujutsu exponents, among them one who had been appointed the Kodokan instructor in jo-jutsu (fighting-stick art).
- (109) Harrison, op.cit., page 49
- (110) Hoare, op.cit., page 32
- (111) Koizumi, G., "My Study of Judo", Foulsham, 1960, page 19
- (112) Ibid., page 19
- (113) Kodokan, op.cit., page 8
- (114) Kano was instrumental in instituting physical education in teacher education in Japan and in establishing it in schools.
- (115) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", page 114
- (116) Koizumi, op.cit., page 22
- (117) Ibid., page 22
- (118) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 114
- (119) Koizumi, op.cit., page 22
- (120) Harrison op.cit., page 49
- (121) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 114
- (122) Kodokan, op.cit., page 9
- (123) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 115
- (124) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 36
- (125) Kodokan, op.cit., page 9

- (126) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 119
- (127) Hoare, op.cit., page 33
- (128) Ibid., page 23
- (129) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 121
- (130) Ibid., page 121
- (131) Ibid., page 121
- (132) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 115
- (133) Ibid., page 116
- (134) Ibid., page 116. The original reference for Arima's statement is not given by Draeger.
- (135) Draeger, "Classical Budo", op.cit., page 122
- (136) Ibid., page 122
- (137) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 36
- (138) Kodokan, op.cit., pages 7-8.
- (139) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 114. Shortt & Hashimoto (op.cit., page 36) refer to a "...ten mat practice area" but Koizumi (op.cit., page 22) records it having twelve mats.
- (140) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 36
- (141) Ibid., page 36
- (142) Kodokan, op.cit., page 8
- (143) This involves the identification of different standards of competence with 'grades' and their marking by the wearing of belts of different colours.
- (144) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 30
- (145) Harrison, op.cit., page 35
- (146) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 44
- (147) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., page 139
- (148) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 62
- (149) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., page 139
- (150) Randori is usually translated as 'free practice' where two players practise attacking and defensive techniques in a 'competitive' way, although with less competitive edge than in contests.

- (151) Hoare, op.cit., page 32
- (152) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 121
- (153) The 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo' lists seven kata: Nage-no-kata ('Forms of Throwing'), Katame-no-kata ('Forms of Grappling or Holding'), Kime-no-kata or Shinken-shobu-no-kata ('Forms of Decision' or 'Forms of Actual Fighting') the Kodokan Goshin-Jitsu ('Forms of Self-Defence'), Ju-no-kata ('Forms of Gentleness'), Koshiki-no-kata ('Forms Antique'), Itsutsu-no-kata ('Forms of "Five" ').
- (154) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., page 104. Shortt & Hashimoto (op.cit., page 43) refer to Koshiki-no-kata simply as "...ancient forms of the Kito Ryu school of Jiu Jitsu".
- (155) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., page 104. Kodokan (op.cit., page 164) states that "The late Professor Kano revised and adopted them (the forms of the 'Kito School') as the Kodokan Koshiki-no-kata".
- (156) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., Pages 97, 100, 102, 106, 108.
- (157) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 120
- (158) Harrison, op.cit., page 44
- (159) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 120
- (160) Ibid., pages 120-1 .
- (161) Ibid., page 121. An interesting indication of the difference between 'jutsu' and 'do' forms is provided by this point. Whereas in practical combat it would clearly be an advantage, usually, to throw a person in such a way as to incapacitate him, in Judo other criteria operate. Thus, for instance, in Judo contests a full point is scored (for a throwing technique) by throwing the opponent flat on his back, with control; while this may, on occasions, 'knock the breath out of' the opponent, it is likely to be less injurious than throwing him onto a shoulder, or onto his head, for example.
- (162) Ibid., page 120
- (163) Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 2
- (164) Ibid., page 3
- (165) Ibid., pages 3-4

- (166) The term 'jita kyoei' is translated as "mutual welfare and benefit" in "The Illustrated Kodokan Judo" (Kodokan, op.cit., page 20) and as " 'mutual prosperity' (mutual assistance, cooperation and welfare)" by Draeger ("Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 119). However Maekawa and Hasegawa translate it as "Perfection of One's Self and Mutual Welfare and Benefit" (Maekawa & Hasegawa op.cit., page 6) and Gleeson renders it "... by helping (developing) oneself, society benefits" ('All About Judo", op.cit., page 114). While both these broad approaches to translation express Kano's 'social welfare' commitment, it can be argued that the second pair of translations helps to tie the principle of jita kyoei to that of seiryoku zenyo (see later in text) more effectively.
- (167) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 6
- (168) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 7
- (169) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 8
- (170) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 8
- (171) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 8
- (172) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 8
- (173) Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 9
- (174) Ibid., page 9
- (175) The relevance of Weberian approaches to this and other points is considered in Chapter 7
- (176) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 9
- (177) Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 9
- (178) Quoted by Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 9
- (179) Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 9
- (180) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 117. Draeger quotes Kano but does not cite the original reference.
- (181) Ibid., page 117. Draeger quotes Arima but does not cite the original reference.
- (182) Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 11. Maekawa & Hasegawa cite the journal 'Sakko', Vol. 7, No.3, 1928, as the source for Kano's distinction between the two approaches.
- (183) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 118
- (184) Ibid., page 118

- (185) Ibid., page 119
- (186) Maekawa & Hasegawa, op.cit., page 12
- (187) Ibid., page 11
- (188) Ibid., page 11

CHAPTER 2

JUJUTSU AND JUDO IN BRITAIN UP TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Having examined the development of Judo in Japan, it is now necessary to look at its development in Britain. Here two stages will be identified, firstly the initial establishment of Jujutsu activity in Britain and secondly the emergence of 'Kodokan Judo' from this basis. It will be shown that there are several clear elements of continuity between Jujutsu and Judo, but also significant differences between the two 'movements', in Britain as in Japan. Three periods relevant to the development of Jujutsu and Judo may be identified:

1. the period between 1899 and 1918, characterised by the presence in Britain of Japanese Jujutsu instructors and by a clear Jujutsu orientation.
2. the period between 1918 and 1920, centreing on the Budokwai; this must be seen as a transitional phase between the clear orientation to Jujutsu of period 1 and the emergence of Kodokan Judo in period 3 .
3. the period from 1920 onwards, again in the Budokwai in particular, with the clear development of Kodokan Judo. While differences between the Jujutsu and Judo orientations will be shown, one clear point of continuity between the periods outlined above seems to be the high social status (1) of many individuals practising Jujutsu and Judo (particularly in the early years of the 'Judo period'). Thus the ethos of the Budokwai in its early period may be represented as that of a 'gentleman's club', with Judo forming part of a social round, without hard physical training, and with no evidence of a competitive (sporting) focus. By the end of the 1920s the composition involved more professional and white-collar elements and the

activity had moved towards a more serious form, with the development of international competition, for example. While in this sense the tone of the club (in terms of membership) had changed by the later 1920s, there is some evidence that a 'gentlemanly' element remained in the group of people taking private lessons in Judo at the club rather than becoming members. It is clear that Judo was presented in Britain initially in a manner that would encourage gentlemanly participation, as is indicated below.

The composition of the practising groups will be examined in relation to the image of Jujutsu and Judo presented to the public at the time and in relation to relevant aspects of the nature of the activity involved.

The Initial Establishment of Jujutsu in Britain

While it appears that Japanese Judo exponents came to Britain from the early 1890s onwards, they came initially in the capacity of workers or students, in commercial, military or educational establishments in Britain (2) rather than as instructors, and it was not until 1899 that Japanese arrived to act primarily as instructors or 'artistes' on music-halls (3). It is perhaps significant that the Englishman who was instrumental in bringing over the first two Japanese instructors (Yukio Tani and his brother), that is W. Barton-Wright, had attempted to open a school for instruction in his own version of Jujutsu, 'Bartitsu' (4), which failed, in the words of Shortt and Hashimoto,

"...because most Britishers did not know what Jiu Jitsu was " (5).

While the appearances of Japanese exponents on the music-halls were perhaps not central to the establishment of Jujutsu activity in Britain, they do appear to have been

important in preparing the ground for that activity, bringing Jujutsu to the attention of the public through 'dramatic' presentations. There were thus two strands of Jujutsu activity in Britain in the first decade of the twentieth century, that is appearances on music-halls and instruction in Jujutsu schools. The separation of these strands is important, but so are certain connections between them. There was clearly a great deal of interest in Jujutsu as a music-hall 'turn'; in addition to Tani, three other Japanese were prominent in this sphere, Sada Uyenishi, who arrived in 1902, Taro Miyake, who arrived in 1904, and Akhitaro Ohno, who arrived in 1905. The last two had Kodokan Judo experience in addition to their Jujutsu expertise. Reay, for example, refers to a 'vogue' (6). Certainly the four Japanese mentioned above were kept in employment, partly through music-hall appearances (giving demonstrations and taking on 'all comers'), until just before the First World War. Perhaps an equally significant indication of the interest in Jujutsu is the fact that, between 1904 and 1907, at least five books on Jujutsu were published in Britain, while a film involving Jujutsu was made in 1911; the publication of books is also an indication that there was interest in Jujutsu on the part of relatively highly educated people. Such people seem to have been involved in the strand of activity involving Jujutsu schools. The two major schools (7) in the period were the Japanese School of Ju-Jitsu in Oxford Street and the Piccadilly School of Ju-Jitsu, and the writer of one of the books mentioned above was Mrs Emily Watts, a pupil of Uyenishi, a 'society woman' and suffragette (8).

Further the cost of a Jujutsu outfit in 1906 is quoted as 12/- (9), which in the context of incomes at the time (10) suggests a relatively affluent clientele. The addresses of the major schools suggest affluence, and the presence of individuals of high status is significant. Finally it is interesting that a school in Liverpool (the Kara Ashikaga School, housed at 7 Electric Light Buildings, Maryland Street) in which Gunji Koizumi who, as will be seen, must be regarded as the predominant individual in the establishment of Judo in Britain, was involved on his arrival in Britain, closed two months after his arrival. It seems likely that the more clearly working-class setting here was less favourable to Jujutsu than was the 'upper-class' setting of the West End of London. It thus appears that Jujutsu was an activity taken up mainly by relatively affluent and high-status individuals. It is necessary to establish why this was so. The relationship between the music-hall acts and the schools of instruction in Jujutsu is significant here. The music-hall Jujutsu acts were a means of gaining widespread interest in Jujutsu. While it can obviously not be claimed that music-halls were predominantly 'upper-class institutions', equally, by the Edwardian era it seems that they had become acceptable to all social classes (11). Certainly Tani has been described as being

"...famous through all levels of London society" (12).

The music-hall appearances are thus of significance as a means of spreading knowledge (if superficially) about Jujutsu as a spectacular and dramatic activity, and they thus contribute to the basis on which Jujutsu came to be established as a participatory activity as well as one

for spectators. It should be noted in passing, however, that not all the Japanese who came to Britain viewed such appearances favourably. Thus Yakio Tani's brother refused to appear on the stage as he felt that it was

"...an abuse of the art" (13).

This is interesting in the light of discussion in Chapter 1 on the state of Jujutsu in Meiji Japan; in particular, from later Tokugawa times there had been movements towards Jujutsu exponents performing in public for money, even if these appearances were not felt to be acceptable in some quarters. Further light is thrown, at least indirectly, on the question of the attitudes of Japanese to music-hall appearances, by some of Koizumi's comments on the founding of the Budokwai, as will be discussed below.

While the music-halls helped to prepared the ground for the establishment of schools and for participation by English people in Jujutsu, clearly further explanation is required as to why such activity was maintained over a period of around ten years, up to the First World War.

The Appeal of Jujutsu

A number of factors in the appeal of Jujutsu in British society (particularly to individuals of high status) may be suggested. Two 'background' factors of importance may be cited. The first one is the interest in 'things Oriental' in this period. From the time of the 'opening' of Japan to the West, there was clearly interest in the country, its arts and ways (14). As Storry shows (15), Japan gained a good deal of popularity in Britain following the Boxer Rising and the Russo-Japanese War. In the latter

case, the fact that Japanese battleships were built in Britain and that Japanese naval training owed a good deal to British influence and example, added to such feelings (16). Further, the fact that an Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed in 1902 (17) is likely to have promoted acceptance of activities in which Japanese were involved. A second factor is the 'vogue' for physical culture, occasioned largely by the exploits of such people as Eugene Sandow (18), which clearly created an atmosphere favourable to demonstrations of physical prowess.

Turning to points more specific to the appeal of Jujutsu, an important one is the 'wrestling boom' of the time (19) from which an activity such as Jujutsu would have benefited. There is also some evidence that efforts were made to demonstrate the relevance of Jujutsu to life in Britain and to present it in a manner 'culturally consistent', to some extent at least, with British upper-class life. Thus Shortt and Hashimoto refer to Uyenishi teaching, at the Piccadilly School, Japanese 'short-staff' techniques

"...as being comparable to techniques with a gentleman's cane or walking-stick" (20), suggesting the relevance of Jujutsu to the life of an English gentleman.

A final point relates to a tendency in this period for young people of high status to attach themselves to activities as fashions or vogues for periods of time (21).

It should be noted at this point that Britain was one among a number of countries which received Jujutsu instructors and in which Jujutsu activity was established,

although the times at which this occurred varied. Thus, as Shortt and Hashimoto record, a student of Uyenishi established a school in 1905, off the Champs Elysées, while Judo was introduced in 1910 by a French army officer (22). Subsequently (during the 1930s) Japanese Judo instructors were resident in France (23). There was also apparently Jujutsu activity in Germany, Sweden, Austria and Holland, in Australia in the early 1920s, in South Africa and Brazil in the 1930s and in the United States from 1900 onwards (24). Jujutsu was thus, from quite an early period, a Japanese 'export'; during the 1930s the Kodokan made a more systematic attempt to spread Judo around the world (see page 152).

It is thus clear that, for a period of about fifteen years, in the early part of this century, Jujutsu was established, by a number of Japanese and their English pupils, as an activity undertaken by high-status English individuals and as a spectacle enjoyed by many more, generally of lower status, through the music-halls. This period of Jujutsu activity is important in laying foundations for the subsequent development of Kodokan Judo in England, as will be shown.

The Transition from Jujutsu to Judo in The Budokwai

Any account of what has here been termed a 'transitional' phase (1918-20), and of the period of clear emergence of Kodokan Judo must take into consideration the activities of Gunji Koizumi and, to an extent, of Yukio Tani. Both these men were active in England during the 'Jujutsu period' and remained active into the 'Judo

period' (25) and their move to Kodokan Judo is of great significance to Judo development in England. As has been stated, Tani was in Britain from 1899 and was highly active during the Jujutsu vogue. Koizumi came to Britain in May 1906, at the age of 21 (26) and was active in a number of Jujutsu schools (the Kara Ashikaga in Liverpool, the Piccadilly School, the Japanese School in Oxford Street, the Polytechnic, the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve) (27). Having spent three years in the United States (28) he returned to England (in 1910) and settled in London. From that time he became established in business, dealing in oriental lacquer-work. While it appears that his grounding in this was 'informal' (29) he became a Consultant to the Victoria and Albert Museum (in 1922), wrote a book on the subject (again after the First World War) and had among his patrons Queen Mary and Lord Kitchener, providing lacquered furniture for the former and 'almost completely' furnishing a new country house for the latter (30). It also appears that Koizumi was instrumental (from 1910 onwards) in bringing to England young Japanese to learn about lacquer-work from him; these are described as forming

"...the nucleus of early members of the Budokwai" (31).

This background clearly gave Koizumi an entrée to high-status circles immediately after the First World War, possibly leading to a 'spin-off' of people into membership of the Budokwai from among contacts made through his business activities. At the very least his contacts with famous people would have made it easier for him to present himself as someone involved in activities suitable for those of high status.

As has been suggested, the period between 1918 and 1920, in the Budokwai Club, should be seen as a transitional one in the development of Kodokan Judo in Britain. Thus the Budokwai was founded in 1918, but it seems that it was initially a club based on Jujutsu and Kendo, with a largely Japanese membership. However, the non-Japanese membership soon grew, and there are aspects of the Budokwai's 'institutional presentation of self' in its early stages which suggest that Koizumi was sensitive to the possibilities of attracting English members, with an emphasis on those of high status (as will be shown). It is also clear, however, that during the period from 1918 to 1920 the ground was being prepared for a move to Kodokan Judo as the basis of Budokwai activity. In particular this appears to have centred on the efforts of two British Judoka, W.E.Steers and E.J.Harrison; both of these had practised Judo at the Kodokan and they had been the first two English players to be awarded Black Belts (i.e. Dan Grade) there (32). Shorrt and Hashimoto's assertion that Steers and Harrison

"...campaigned consistently on behalf of Kodokan Judo in preference to Jiu Jitsu" (33)

(in the Budokwai) is supported by a certain amount of evidence. In particular, in 1919 Harrison contributed a series of articles on Judo to 'Health and Strength' Magazine. In the first of these (34) Harrison refers to (Kodo-kwan Judo' as

"...both a system of ethics and a means of defence and attack without the use of artificial weapons" (35).

He also refers to displays of 'Ju-jitsu' having taken place in England in previous years, but not having established a

"...permanent place in the affections of
our sport-loving public" (36)

for Judo, thus suggesting that no particular distinction existed in Harrison's mind between Jujutsu and Judo, at least for the purposes of the article. It is also interesting that Harrison refers to W.E. Steers having given a lecture, shortly before, on 'Judo of the Kodokwan' (37), thus reinforcing the idea that Harrison and Steers were publicising Kodokan Judo. At the time of writing of the Harrison article, Steers was registered as a Budokwai member, whilst Harrison was officially registered on 24.5.19, that is while he was possibly still writing his series of 'Health and Strength' articles (the rest of which had a technical/instructional basis, as 'First Lessons in Judo') (38); it is clear, however, that Harrison was closely connected with the Budokwai prior to his official membership registration. Thus, for example, at the end of his first 'Health and Strength' article he suggests that

"All those interested are cordially invited to apply
to the Budo Kwai, Lower Grosvenor Place, SW1" (39),

where information was available. It is further interesting that in the Budokwai Membership Log the entry relating to Steers (29.11.18) refers to him being elected as a 'special member' in consideration of his work on behalf of the Budokwai.

The Budokwai in its initial form is perhaps best characterised as a club for the practice of Jujutsu and Kendo, with a strong Japanese element in the membership. Over the first two years of operation, however, more non-Japanese members were enrolled. Thus (taking males and females), in 1918 50 Japanese and 4 non-Japanese

joined; in 1919, 6 Japanese and 16 non-Japanese and in 1920, 15 Japanese and 49 non-Japanese. Koizumi himself referred to the founding of the Budokwai as follows:

"In January 1918, I opened the Badokwai (sic) Dojo for the practice of Ju Jutsu, Kenjutsu and other martial arts of Japan. This club was conducted on the lines of an Amateur Sports Club" (40).

The references here to 'kenjutsu' and to 'martial arts' should not be taken to mean what they would mean in Draeger's scheme as outlined in Chapter 1; the term 'martial arts' is often used to cover what Draeger divides into 'arts' and 'ways', and it is most unlikely that Japanese in London would have been able, or interested, to undertake the sort of training that would fit Draeger's approach to kenjutsu. In addition to Koizumi's statement, there are numerous clear references in this period to the fact that the Budokwai was based on Jujutsu and Kendo (41) and that it was seen to have a 'Japanese emphasis' (42).

As has been suggested, one element of continuity between the period before the First World War and that after the war is an emphasis, in the practising group, on people of high social status. It is necessary here to distinguish between non-Japanese members and Japanese members and also, to an extent, between Japanese joining in 1918 and those joining subsequently. As has been pointed out, a significant proportion of the initial intake of Budokwai members was made up of Japanese, brought to England by Koiaumi, in effect as 'apprentices' in oriental lacquer-work. Reay asserts that

"To start with the Budokwai was in fact a Japanese community centre visited in the main by Japanese Imperial Navy and Army attaches and their families who were then residing in London" (43).

While there may be a distinction between those 'visiting' the Budokwai and those registering as members, the contents of the Budokwai Membership Log do not bear out this assertion:

TABLE 1

JAPANESE WITH MILITARY RANKS ENROLLING AT THE BUDOKWAI 1918-21

1918 - 1

1919 - 1

1920 - 0

1921 - 2

It is significant, however, that after 1918 relatively more Japanese are recorded with, for example, business or financial connections, suggesting an upward shift in the status-level of the Japanese membership. It seems more important, however, to examine the status composition of the non-Japanese membership; these were people who would need to be attracted to the Budokwai without, in the main, existing knowledge of Japanese martial culture, and, taking the focus of this research as relating to the establishment of Judo in Britain, they are to be regarded as the more significant group of 'consumers' of Judo.

While there was a rapid initial flow of Japanese members into the club (36 between 26.1.18 and 24.2.18), efforts were made to publicise it in media relevant to potential English members, particularly those of high status.

Thus, according to the Budokwai Accounts Book, during 1918 a total of £27-13-10 was spent by the club in press advertising (44). The effect, in terms of recruitment of non-Japanese members was very small, however, only four being recruited, of whom one (W.E.Steers) had prior contacts

with Judo and thus could not be said to have been 'attracted' by the advertising. As will be shown, however, there was more activity among non-Japanese in taking private lessons at the Budokwai than in joining the club as members during 1918 and 1919, so that the impact of advertising may initially have been greater in relation to such lessons. Recruitment of non-Japanese members was greater in 1919, totalling 16, and it is interesting that press reporting of the second annual Budokwai Display (in 1919) was fuller than that of the first display, (1918), involving at least four reports. Overall recruitment was considerably lower in 1919 than it had been in 1918, however, (22 against 54) and this may have been influential in bringing about what seems to have been a definite attempt to put the Budokwai 'on the map' by way of press features. An examination of these press features for the month of January 1920 indicates the presentation of a clear image, with certain themes being taken up by reporters. The concentration (in time) of a group of seven reports in six days in six different newspapers suggests a positive effort to attract attention for the Budokwai. The presence of photographs of demonstrated techniques and the sheer number of reports in this short space of time reinforce this impression. The dominant theme in these seven reports is the value of Judo (the term is used in five of the seven, 'Jiu Jitsu' in one and no specific Japanese name in the last (45)) as a form of self-defence, specifically for women. Thus five of the seven accounts contain photographs (a total of seven photographs), the subject of the photograph in each case being a woman executing a self-

defence technique against a man (46). Further, three of the accounts refer to social conditions at the time which would make a self-defence capacity valuable for women (47). Given firstly the extent of, and secondly the very clear emphasis in, this press coverage, it is most interesting to note developments in the pattern of recruitment to the Budokwai at the time.

Female Enrolments to The Budokwai 1918-20

During 1918 and 1919 a total of two female members was recruited, both being non-Japanese; this compares with a total of 74 male recruits, 18 of them non-Japanese. The change, in January 1920, in the pattern established in 1918 and 1919 is striking, however, following the series of newspaper features.

TABLE 2

PRESS FEATURES REFERRING TO THE BUDOKWAI JANUARY 1920

11.1.20 - 1
12.1.20 - 1
13.1.20 - 3
16.1.20 - 1
17.1.20 - 1 (48)
25.1.20 - 1
29.1.20 - 1

TABLE 3

RECRUITMENT OF NON-JAPANESE FEMALE MEMBERS TO THE
BUDOKWAI JANUARY - FEBRUARY 1920

10.1.20 - 1
20.1.20 - 2
24.1.20 - 3
26.1.20 - 1
27.1.20 - 1
4.2.20 - 1
10.2.20 - 1
12.2.20 - 1

Thus during January and February eleven female members were recruited, with a further four joining in March, and a total of 24 for the year (the total of female enrolments for the period 1918-29, the period covered by the Membership Log, is 46). It might be supposed that, if a larger number of recruits than usual was attracted, as a result of press features, the group would include a relatively high proportion of people who would "try out" Judo but not maintain their activity for a long period. In the absence of information on the regularity with which people actually practised (e.g. Dojo records of attendance)

one indication of continuing interest in practising Judo is the person concerned taking out a second, or further subscription, rather than taking out only one subscription and not repeating it. In addition, however, what is significant in repeating subscriptions is that the person concerned should be a member for more than one year (the maximum time that one subscription, other than Life Membership, could last). Taking this basis (people taking out one subscription, or more than one but with membership lasting no more than one year, as one category, and those taking out more than one subscription, or Life Membership, and sustaining membership for more than one year, as the other category), in 1920 there were 13 non-Japanese females in the first category and 11 in the second. For all years up to and including 1927 (49), but excluding 1920, there were eight in the first category and seven in the second. The ratio here is very similar in each case, indicating that the larger numbers recruited in 1920 were not made up of individuals who were notably less 'tenacious' than members in other years. It must be noted, however, that the use of sustained membership as an indicator of sustained commitment and/or activity is far from perfect, giving no indication of frequency or seriousness of practice, for example. Also, in those instances where a female member took out Life Membership on joining the club (three in the period covered here, none of them in 1920), this could be a reflection of capacity to pay such a subscription (£5-5-0) without concern for the size of the outlay, rather than of a long-term commitment to Judo as an activity.

After 1920 the rate of female enrolments slowed down greatly, the numbers of non-Japanese female members

recruited in any one year not exceeding six in subsequent years, with none joining in 1922 and only one in each year in 1924, 1925 and 1926. The use of the press in January 1920 is, however, an indication of a wish on the part of the Budokwai to gain a larger non-Japanese membership. Although the press coverage had a very clear emphasis on female activity in Judo, male non-Japanese enrolments were also very high during January and February 1920. Leaving aside two such enrolments occurring before the press coverage began, there were six in January and eight in February. The highest totals of enrolments for non-Japanese male members for any two consecutive months at any other time during the period 1918-29 are 11 (June/July 1927), 9 (September/October 1927) and 7 (October/November 1926), thus suggesting a definite boost to male enrolments as a result of the press coverage (a total of 14 non-Japanese male members was recruited for the whole of 1919, that is the same number as for the period from January 12th to the end of February 1920). The relative absence of press coverage of Budokwai activities after 1920 may be explained by Koizumi's involvement in his lacquer-work. Thus in 1922 he was asked to organise the cataloguing of the oriental lacquerwork collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, later acting as Consultant to the Museum (50). Also, E.J.Harrison, who had been active in promoting the Budokwai and Kodokan Judo, appears to have been engaged to a considerable extent in diplomatic and journalistic activities (51). From 1920, recruitment to the Budokwai continued at a lower rate than that of 1920, but with non-Japanese players being far more numerous than Japanese

for every year but one, between 1921 and 1928. Thus 1918 must be seen as unusual, in terms of the balance between Japanese and non-Japanese recruitment, with a more 'English' pattern being established in succeeding years.

Judo in The Budokwai 1920-30

The third period previously identified in Judo development in England is that from 1920 onwards, with the Budokwai moving to a clear and explicit Kodokan line. As will be argued, this change is relatively more significant in terms of the Budokwai's 'institutional self-presentation' than of the members' experience of practice. The actual change to alignment with the Kodokan occurred during Jigoro Kano's visit to Britain, between July 15th and November 1920 (52). A press report at the time refers to Kano visiting Britain as a member of the International Olympic Committee (53), while the occasion of one of the demonstrations given by him is referred to as a 'reception' to welcome the Japanese team for the 1920 Olympics in Antwerp (54). Kano gave a number of lectures and demonstrations during his stay and arranged for Hikoichi Aida (who accompanied him on the visit) to stay as Instructor at the Budokwai for a period of fifteen months (55), his living expenses being shared by Kano and Koizumi (56). This clearly reinforced the influence of the Kodokan at this time. Koizumi refers to his decision to join the Kodokan as follows :

"I was influenced to take this step by the fact that the Kodokan was founded as an educational institution, free from financial interests, with the object of facilitating the study and practice of Judo as a means of physical, mental and ethical training, elevating Judo as a scientific and ever progressive subject on the principle of maximum efficiency and minimum effort " (57).

This may well be an indication of a reaction on Koizumi's

part to pre-First World War Jujutsu, in which several Japanese were clearly involved on a 'commercial' basis., (58). As will be shown, an important element in the image of Judo being presented at this time is that it was a 'refined' or 'improved' form of Jujutsu. Although it appears that the practising group in pre-First World War Jujutsu was generally made up of high-status individuals, the stress on the refinement of Jujutsu, in Judo, on occasions with reference to the element of safety (in Judo compared with Jujutsu) shows a clear parallel with Kano's wish, in Japan, to present Judo in a manner which would appeal to 'upper-class' people (see Chapter 1, page 50).

A most useful piece of evidence on the approach of the Budokwai at this time is a pamphlet published by the club in the second half of 1920 (59), which includes letters from E.J. Harrison and W.E. Steers. The letter from Harrison begins with him congratulating

"...all who are privileged to listen to an exposition of the principles and practice of the art of JUDO from its illustrious founder and teacher, Dr Jigoro Kano of Tokyo, Japan " (60).

He later refers to the 'ethical side' of Judo, which means that

"...the leading exponents of this art are men not only of amazing skill and strength, but of high character, to associate with whom it is a privilege" (61).

A rather different emphasis is given by Steers, who only began to study Judo at the age of 47 and who subsequently gained his First Dan at the Kodokan. His letter refers particularly to the physical benefits of Judo:

"In the teaching and practice of JUDO there is no undue strain on the heart, because sustained or continued effort is unnecessary" (62).

He does also mention ethical elements in Judo, however, in a similar manner to Harrison, referring to

"...the development of self control, courtesy, and helpful kindness, with high ideals of conduct which invariably accompany the teaching of Dr Jigoro Kano's Judo of the Kodo-Kwan" (63).

The 'Principles of the Budokwai' are then (in the pamphlet) listed as follows:

- "1. - In the pursuance of BUDO be earnest, sincere and open-minded for mutual assistance.
- 2.- Treasure chivalry, despise cowardice and esteem straight living.
3. - Never boast of or misuse one's skill in JUDO or other arts " (64)

The first of these is a direct reflection of Kano's notion of Jita Kyoei (see Chapter 1) and in general the principles reflect the declaration that had to be made by applicants to the Kodokan, involving, for example, the person conducting him/herself

"...in such a way as never to discredit the tradition and honour of the Kodokan " (65)

and promising that

"I will not abuse or misuse the knowledge of Judo " (66).

The Moral Position of Judo in The Budokwai

The relationships between Jujutsu and Judo in Japan have already been discussed (see Chapter 1). It is important also to examine the significance of the shift from a Jujutsu to a Kodokan Judo basis within the Budokwai, that is to try to establish the actual effect that such a change had on activity in the club. The elements of technical continuity between Jujutsu and Kodokan Judo referred to in the context of Japan (see Chapter 1) are clearly relevant to Britain, in that Kano and Koizumi shared

significant similarities of initial Jujutsu experience (in the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu) and as Koizumi received his view of Kodokan Judo directly from Kano (bearing in mind that Steers and Harrison, who would both have had direct contact with Kano in Japan, had probably also transmitted such a view in 1918 and 1919). Judo was at this time (1920) presented in Britain as an improved or refined form of Jujutsu, as indeed Kano had presented it in Japan, and the relationship between the two disciplines may thus be seen, in the British setting, in the same way as it was in Japan. That is, as Kano's view of Judo's 'superiority' over Jujutsu was based on specific historical conditions affecting Jujutsu, at least as much as on intrinsic differences between the two forms, so claims of superiority for Judo made in England must be seen in the context of the particular conditions under which Jujutsu had been presented in England. Thus, while there was the 'Jujutsu school' strand of activity in pre-First World War England, in addition to the more public strand, through music-hall acts, for example, it is likely that the image of Jujutsu in many people's minds, when it was referred to (for example as having been 'improved on' in Judo) would have been derived from the more 'public' Jujutsu activities. Apart from any other considerations, this is likely because many more people would have encountered Jujutsu through these activities (even if only as spectators or even more indirectly) than would have through participation in Jujutsu schools. Koizumi's (approving) reference to the Kodokan not being involved in financial interests (see page 102) reflects what was a strong theme in Kodokan Judo. Thus one part

of the declaration required of entrants to the Kodokan was:

"I will not perform the art in public for personal gain " (67).

This opposition to 'commercialism' remained a strong element in British Judo up to the late 1950s; for example, T.P.Leggett, writing in 1957 (68) strongly opposed the idea of 'display professionalism':

"In Judo.... the sport is entirely supported by its own enthusiasts and quite independent of what the general uninformed public thinks or wants. Displays when given are for the purpose of attracting students, not to extract profits by amusing people who have no serious interest in Judo " (69).

While this statement could be a reflection of Leggett's personal interpretation of 'Kodokan morality', it does appear to follow what Kano felt about financial interests and Judo. It is, therefore, not surprising, from a 'political' point of view if for no other reason, that Koizumi would have put forward, or supported, the idea of Judo being superior to Jujutsu, partly because of its avoidance of financial interest, when taking the 'Kodokan line'. Also, as Koizumi appears not to have been involved personally in music-hall performances, his moral position may well have been strengthened in taking this line.

While it has been suggested that the 'superiority claim' for Judo in England was similar to that made by Kano in Japan, relating to specific conditions affecting Jujutsu and making it appear undesirable, from the Judo point of view, there are points of detail which are different in each case. In relation to Jujutsu, Kano wished to claim that Judo was, firstly, safe and, secondly, of a high moral tone. He was reacting to the dangerous nature of

some Jujutsu practices at his time, in the first place, and to the fact that some Jujutsu exponents had reputations as bullies, and had engaged in displays for money, in the second place. In the case of England, the claim was more narrowly based. The experience of Jujutsu in England included an element which could have been seen as morally questionable, for example public displays for money (indeed Yukio Tani's brother took this line), but the music-hall displays are likely to have been conducted in such a way as to avoid any 'reckless bullying', indeed the impact of such displays would have been greatly enhanced by the capacity of the Japanese exponents involved to 'dispose of' their 'opponents' (challengers from the audience) in an effortless way, avoiding injury to them. On the other hand, practice in Jujutsu schools in England is also unlikely to have involved dangerous activities; it would certainly not have been a good 'marketing strategy', with a clientele of high-status Edwardians, to have allowed a high risk of injury to have entered the activity. This impression is strengthened by the fact that pre-First World War Jujutsu has been referred to in terms of a 'collection of tricks', which could presumably have been learned in a formalised way without great risk to the participants (70).

The superiority claim for Judo in England is thus one with narrower reference (in terms of the suggested 'inferior' qualities of Jujutsu) than that in Japan. The distinction may be explained simply by reference to differences of social context between the two countries. In England Jujutsu seems to have been presented in an almost 'ritualised'

manner, and was practised by what seems to have been a high-status group. In Japan, on the other hand, Jujutsu was more directly a combat form and one which was set in a society where, even towards the end of the nineteenth century, exponents would choose to practise their techniques on 'ruffians' (71), suggesting a different approach to the legitimacy of violence from that of the English 'upper class' at the time.

The shift from Jujutsu to Kodokan Judo could thus be significant in terms of a claimed shift in moral tone in the activity, but in terms of the technical content of that activity, it is unlikely that the change would have been particularly noticeable, in the short run, from the point of view of those practising at the Budokwai (72); the high degree of technical continuity between Jujutsu and Judo (73) in Kano's formulation is likely to have been matched in Koizumi's case, as has been suggested. While it has been argued that one of Kano's contributions, in formulating Kodokan Judo, was the development of the randori method, Koizumi's experience of Jujutsu at the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu involved randori as an element in training (74). The fact that Koizumi was awarded the grade of 2nd Dan, Kodokan, by Kano on his 1920 visit, without having direct prior experience of Kodokan Judo, is an indication of the degree of closeness between the two forms.

Social Composition of The Budokwai Practising Group 1918-29:

1) Club Members

One point to which reference has been made in relation to the first period identified here (up to World War 1) is the social composition of the group of people

taking up Jujutsu. This group has been identified (admittedly on the basis of limited and indirect evidence) as probably containing mainly relatively affluent and high-status individuals. Further, it has been suggested that an element of continuity through the three periods previously identified is the high level of status typical of the practising group in Jujutsu and Judo. It is thus necessary to examine the evidence on the social composition (75) of the group involved at the Budokwai from its foundation. There will be consideration of the second and third periods identified in English Jujutsu/Judo history (1918 onwards), taking into account any changes arising from the movement from the second to the third. Consideration here will be of non-Japanese members of the Budokwai, for reasons previously outlined (see page 96). An arbitrary basis will be taken for the 'transitional phase', assuming that it ended with Kano's arrival in England; bearing in mind the nature of this phase and the forces at work during it, it is arbitrary to see conversion to the Kodokan in terms of Kano's arrival, but, equally, it is difficult to identify the different periods except on such a basis. The transitional phase is thus taken to be from January 1918 to July 1920, during which time a total of 60 non-Japanese members, male and female, registered at the Budokwai. Evidence on the social backgrounds of these people comes from titles given (e.g. 'Dr' or military ranks) in the Budokwai Membership Log, plus, for those living in London, information (not on a fully comprehensive basis) derived from Kelly's Directories (76), along with what can be inferred from addresses listed. Of the four non-Japanese enrolling for

1918 relevant information is available on three. In one case (A.D.Smith) the address (47 Belgrave Square) is listed (in Kelly's Directory) in the name of G.D. Smith and Lady Smith, in the second (Capt.G.Frecheville) the address (71 Cadogan Place) is listed in the name of R.J.Frecheville, mining engineer, while in the third (W.E.Steers), his prior contact with Judo has been mentioned; in addition, however, his address is given as c/o the National Bank of Japan. Information relating to 1919 is as follows:

TABLE 4

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE MEMBERS ENROLLING AT THE BUDOKWAI 1919 (Total enrolment for the year 16 (77)).

a) OCCUPATIONAL INDICATORS

Doctor - 1

Journalist/diplomat - 1

Publican - 1

'Captain' - 2 (both listed c/o the N & M Club, Piccadilly)

b) PEOPLE OF THE SAME SURNAME LISTED AT THE SAME ADDRESS AS AN ENROLLING MEMBER

Physician - 1

Dentist - 1

One person listed as Sir W.Cooper, Bt.

c) ADDRESSES (OF MEMBERS NOT ALREADY REFERRED TO)

c/o The Playgoers' Club - 1

Elm Bank Mansions, Barnes - 1

Cleveland Gardens, West Ealing - 1

Archway Street, Barnes - 1

Great Portland Street - 1

Hounslow - 1

This all suggests a relatively high-status composition without any clear evidence of working-class membership (78).

The picture for 1920, up to July, is less clear, perhaps as a larger number of people (40 non-Japanese) is involved (79).

TABLE 5

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE MEMBERS ENROLLING AT THE BUDOKWAI JANUARY - JULY 1920

a) DIRECT INDICATORS

Baronet - 1 (also a Lieutenant-Colonel)

'Lady' - 1

O.B.E. holder - 1 (female)

M.A. holder - 1

Doctor - 2

Colonel - 1

Major - 1 (also a member of the Carlton Club)

Commander - 1

b) ADDRESSES (OF MEMBERS NOT ALREADY REFERRED TO)

Stonyhurst College, Blackburn - 1

Examples of 'Gardens' addresses:

Wetherby Gardens, SW5 - 1

Bessborough Gardens, SW5 - 1

Philbeach Gardens, SW5 - 1

Ashley Gardens, SW1- 1

Examples of 'Mansions':

Burgess Park Mansions, Hampstead - 1

Exchange Mansions, Golders Green - 1

Library Mansions, Shepherds Bush - 1

Westminster Mansions, Great Smith Street - 1

This involves only a minority of the enrolled group (18 out of 40); the rest of the addresses may not indicate very high socio-economic status but equally seem to be in what could be termed 'respectable middle-class' areas.

The pattern in the eighteen months from July 1920 to December 1921 (the early period of Kodokan Judo in the Budokwai) suggests that the adoption of Kodokan Judo had no immediate dramatic impact on the composition of club membership.

TABLE 6

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE MEMBERS ENROLLING AT THE BUDOKWAI JULY 1920-DECEMBER 1921 (total enrolment 30 (80))

a) OCCUPATIONS

Consul-General for Sweden - 1

Solicitor - 1

Sanitary Engineer - 1

One person listed c/o the Foreign Office

b) ADDRESSES (OF MEMBERS NOT ALREADY REFERRED TO)

c/o The Overseas Club, Aldwych - 1

Bryanston Square W1 - 1

Ellerdale Road Hampstead - 1

Paulton's Square Chelsea - 1

Bracken Knoll, Oxshott, Surrey - 1

Highgate Hill - 2

Longdown Hollow, Hindhead - 1

The above addresses may be taken to indicate relatively high socio-economic status; there are also suburban (e.g. Harrow-on-the-Hill, West Norwood, Croydon, Ealing), again which do not suggest working-class backgrounds.

From January 1922 to October 1927 (at which time occupations began to be recorded in the club Membership Log) a total of 77 new non-Japanese members was enrolled (81).

TABLE 7

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE MEMBERS ENROLLING
AT THE BUDOKWAI JANUARY 1922 - OCTOBER 1927

a) OCCUPATIONS (AND OTHER DIRECT INDICATORS)

Architect - 1

Solicitor - 1

Doctor - 1

Chartered Engineer - 1

Keeper of the Department of Woodwork, Victoria
and Albert Museum - 1

Publican - 1

Rate Collector (Borough of Lewisham) - 1

Beef and Ham Dealer - 1

Sausage-Casing Manufacturer - 1

Confectioner - 1

Captain - 2

Commander - 1

Lieutenant - 1

Student at School of Arts and Crafts - 1 (later a
Professor in Egypt)

Student at Oxford University - 1

b) PEOPLE OF THE SAME SURNAME LISTED AT THE SAME
ADDRESS AS AN ENROLLING MEMBER

Dentist - 1

Discount Broker - 1

Liberal Member of Parliament - 1

Theatrical Producer - 1

c) ADDRESSES (OF MEMBERS NOT ALREADY REFERRED TO)

c/o The Ex-Officers' Club (Haig Fund) - 1

c/o The Royal Colonial Institute - 1

Again these constitute only a minority of cases (22 out of
77). While addresses of members (other than those of members
perviously referred to) suggest the continuation of an

element in the membership of people of high socio-economic status, for example, two addresses in W1, one in SW1, addresses in Hampstead, Bloomsbury and Highgate, one involving 'Mansions' and one 'Gardens', plus, as country members, people from Weybridge, Tadworth and Gerrards Cross, there is also an element of addresses suggesting somewhat lower status (e.g. South Hackney, Lee, Wandsworth Road, Brownhill Road, SE6). There may thus be a somewhat greater 'mix', in terms of social composition, than was true of the early years of the Budokwai. In the occupations listed above (relating to the period 1922-7) it is also interesting to note the presence (admittedly limited) of a number of people in businesses which would not necessarily denote high status but which might have been quite profitable. It is thus possible, although such a conclusion must be tentative, that some people saw the Budokwai as an institution patronised by high-status individuals and saw membership of it as enhancing their status.

Analysis of social composition in the period from October 1927 to February 1929 is aided by the recording of occupations for members (although not in every case) enrolling during the period. During this time, of a total of 56 non-Japanese male and female members, occupations are recorded (or known from other sources) for 35 (including occupations for three women); of the members with no occupation listed, 7 were women and 14 were men. The classification of the occupations listed in terms of generally recognised scales of occupational status is by no means straightforward, given that occupations are often given (in the Membership Log) in forms which make allocation

of an occupation to a scale category very problematic (e.g. 'secretary', 'civil servant', 'clerk'). To give as sound a basis as possible, therefore, the occupations have been referred to three scales (Registrar General's, Hall-Jones, Goldthorpe-Llewellyn) and, where there is some lack of clarity in the descriptions given, the alternatives in terms of occupational status have been taken in turn. It is thus possible to give, for each of the scales, a 'higher status variant' and a 'lower status variant'. The results are set out on pages 17-8, and indicate a quite strong emphasis on high occupational status. The difference between 'higher' and 'lower' status variants on each scale reflects the degree of detail in each scale's scheme of classification, so that a detailed scheme allows more alternatives of classification. Thus, on the Hall-Jones scale the proportion of Class 1 occupations may be 45.7 or 48.6%, on the Registrar General's scale it may be 42.8 or 60.0%, and on the Goldthorpe-Llewellyn scale it may be 25.7 or 54.3%. Thus in most cases the proportion of those of high status is considerable. Taking Classes 1 and 2 on the Hall-Jones scale, the possibilities are 60.0 or 68.6%, while taking Classes 1 and 2 together on the Goldthorpe-Llewellyn scale the possibilities are 62.8 or 82.9%. Finally, taking Classes 1, 2 and 3 (non-manual) on the Registrar General's scale the possibilities are 85.6 or 88.5%, suggesting a strong concentration of people in non-manual occupations of relatively high status.

For those without a listed occupation, addresses, as previously, have to provide indications of status.

In London they include, for this period, Torrington Square WC1, Montagu Square W1, Hereford Square SW7 and Belgrave Place SW1;

TABLE 8

BUDOKWAI MEMBERSHIP LOG - OCCUPATIONS LISTED OCTOBER 1927-
FEBRUARY 1929

Three scales of occupational status have been referred to: the Registrar-General's (R-G), the Hall-Jones (H-J) and the Goldthorpe-Llewellyn (G-L), with higher and lower estimations where the information given is insufficient for a specific placement. Members are listed in chronological order of enrolment.

<u>Member and Listed Occupation</u>	<u>R-G</u>	<u>H-J</u>	<u>G-L</u>
H.Wood - Shipbroker	1	1	1,2?
L.Crewe - Police Constable	2	5	2
S.Harbert - Shipbroker	1	1	1,2?
C.Wilcox - Relieving Officer	2	4	2
Major W.Dayrell	1	1,2?	1
A.Dolkoff - Merchant	1,2?	2	1,4?
P.Kinsley - Civil Servant	1,2,3N?	2	1,2,3?
P.Brooker - Artist	1,2?	1	2
Mrs T.Brooker - Artist	1,2?	1	2
W.Bullock - Bank Clerk	2,3N?	4	3
Miss M.Riach - Artist	1,2?	1	2
L.de Chateleux - Secretary	1,3N?	2,5?	1,3?
J.Allen - Telegraph Engineer	3M	5	5
W.Jackson - Police Constable	2	5	2
R.Ashton - Barrister	1	1	1
S.Hudson - Tailor	2,3M?	2,5?	1,4?
A.Price - Tea Broker	1	1	1,2?
B.Manners - Solicitor's Clerk	2,3N?	4	3
L.Butterworth - Chartered Accountant	1	1	1
C.Humphreys - Barrister	1	1	1
F.Chambers - Architect	1	1	1
H.Johnson - Engineer Machinist	3M,4?	5,6?	6,7?

TABLE 8 continued

<u>Member and Listed Occupation</u>	<u>R-G</u>	<u>H-J</u>	<u>G-L</u>
Miss B. Daniels - Dental Surgeon	1	1	1
T.Raymond - Schoolmaster	2	3	2
F.Haarer - Buyer	1	2	2
R.Kinealy - Investor	1	1	1,2?
W.Crouch - Accountant	1	1	1
T.Wagstaff - Clerk	3N	4	3
A.Banister - Printer	2,3M?	2,5?	4,6?
F.Heall - Clerk	3N	4	3
W.Heywood - Druggist's Warehouseman	4	6	7
L.Tucker - Solicitor	1	1	1
H.Erith - Builder's Merchant	2	2	1,4?
S.Desmond - Author	1,2?	1	2
H.Harris - Doctor	1	1	1

in suburban areas, Acton, Woodford Green, Hendon, Upper Norwood and Croydon, while outside London there are addresses in Oxford, Henley and Cambridge (Gonville and Caius College). The significance of the 'out of London' addresses at all the different periods is that they suggest at least a financial capacity to travel to London to practise, even if not frequently, frequency of attendance by members, as has been pointed out, not being a point that can be established from available data. It should also be pointed out that, for this period there is one address in East London (Victoria Park) suggesting at least one example of what may be regarded as a 'lower - status area'.

Social Composition of The Budokwai Practising Group 1918-29:
2) People Taking Private Lessons

Up to this point the socio-economic levels of those engaged in Jujutsu/Judo activity have been approached through an examination of the group of people becoming Budokwai members, as recorded in the club's Membership Log.

Another important area of activity, however, relates to the group of people taking private lessons (in Jujutsu or Judo), as recorded in the Budokwai Accounts Book, from January 1918 to December 1928. Reference here will be made only to those people who took lessons but did not become members (to avoid double counting).

The first record of people taking such lessons is in September 1918. Between September and the end of 1918 eight people in the relevant category (those not becoming members) took lessons, the total number of people taking lessons being 11. While no details are given in the Accounts Book other than name and possibly title of the person (again, as with members e.g. 'Dr' and military ranks), it is possible to gain some impression of social status, at least in terms of the presence of individuals of high status.

TABLE 9

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE PEOPLE TAKING
PRIVATE LESSONS AT THE BUDOKWAI 1918 (total 8)

Count - 1

'Lady' - 1

General - 1 (the writing in the Accounts Book is not
clear but appears to indicate 'General')

Lieutenant - 1

For 1919 lessons were given to 19 people who had
not received them in 1918 and who were not, or did not
become members (the total number of people taking lessons
in 1919 was 22).

TABLE 10

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE PEOPLE TAKING
PRIVATE LESSONS AT THE BUDOKWAI 1919 (total 19)

Baroness - 1 (arranging lessons for '3 boys')

Colonel - 1

Lieutenant - 4

For 1920, up to July, lessons were given to 12
'new receivers' (the total of people taking lessons in
this period being 17), plus one Japanese.

TABLE 11

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE PEOPLE TAKING
PRIVATE LESSONS AT THE BUDOKWAI JANUARY - JUNE 1920 (total 12)

Lieutenant-Colonel - 1

Lieutenant - 1

It is thus clear that the sudden rise in membership
enrolments in the early part of 1920 was not matched by an
increase in lesson-taking. The impact on membership
enrolments of the press features previously referred to
(see pages 97-8) was thus not matched in the group taking
private lessons. Seven people in the category outlined

above took lessons, from the beginning of January to the end of March 1920. Taking three-month periods at earlier times, seven people had taken lessons from October to the end of December 1918 and five from April to the end of June 1920. There was thus an increase, but clearly not a dramatic increase, in the extent of taking lessons in the early part of 1920.

Taking an initial eighteen month period after the change to Kodokan Judo in the Budokwai (July 1920 to the end of 1921), there were 20 individual takers of lessons, plus a group of 'Indian students', the number not being specified (with a total of 24 people taking lessons, plus these students), but during the period there are no indicators of status on the basis used here (82).

In the period 1922-28 lessons were provided for 179 non-Japanese individuals, plus 2 Japanese and a number of clubs on a group basis, the total of people receiving lessons, as individuals, in the period being 241.

Starting in September 1927 there are several instances of lessons being provided on a group or institutional basis. The following clubs or groups were involved: Boy Scouts, Jewish Lads Brigade, the 'Highbury Club', The Athenaeum Club, Oxford Judo Club, Oxford University Judo Club.

It is not possible to establish the sizes of groups involved; fees charged varied between groups and also for particular groups on different occasions, although they were not generally at a high level, those for the Jewish Lads Brigade (13 lessons) varying between 21/- and 10/- and those for the Athenaeum Club (9 lessons) varying between 6/- and 15/-, for example. This particular line of activity,

given the nature of several of the groups involved, and the level of fees charged, may be interpreted as one with an 'evangelising' character, involving the spreading of Judo more widely; this may also be seen in terms of a process of civilising the working-class.

TABLE 12

STATUS INDICATORS FOR NON-JAPANESE PEOPLE TAKING
PRIVATE LESSONS AT THE BUDOKWAI 1922-28 (total 179)

Knight - 2

Doctor - 2

Colonel - 2

Lieutenant-Colonel - 1

Captain - 3

The total of 'relevant' people (i.e. non-members) other than Japanese, taking lessons in the period 1918-28 is thus 238, of whom 22 are listed in one of the 'status pointer' categories (the overall total of non-Japanese taking lessons is 315, with 3 Japanese taking them). It is interesting that the concentration of such high-status individuals is far greater early in the period than later. Thus for 1918 and 1919 there are 10 out of the 27 taking lessons, while, for the period from 1920 to 1928 there are 12 out of 211.

The information on private lessons yielded by the Budokwai Accounts Book cannot contribute to the establishment of the overall social composition of the group taking private lessons; it is, however, of value in pointing to the incidence of certain types of high socio-economic status within that group. In this connection it is clear that, in the first two years of the Budokwai's existence there was a relatively strong

concentration of such individuals, to the extent of over one third of the total. While the concentration is less strong in later years, there are still instances of such people appearing in the record.

Indirect Indicators of The Social Composition^o of The Budokwai Practising Group 1918-29

Apart from the record of occupational and other aspects of status in the Budokwai Membership Log and Accounts Book, it is possible to gain an impression of the social composition of the practising group through certain more indirect measures. One of these is the level of subscriptions charged to members, along with the cost of private lessons. For the first few months of 1918, with a predominantly Japanese membership, various charges were made, between 1/- and £3-0-0. The first non-Japanese members, in March and April 1918, paid £3-3-0 and this seems to have been the regular level of subscription for a year's membership up to the end of 1921; in 1922 it was raised to £4-4-0 (although members often paid smaller amounts for shorter periods), remaining at this level until the end of the period covered by the Log, that is 1929. A basic course of twelve private lessons cost £2-12-6 in 1918 (a person taking a second course paid £2-2-0), with a course of 24 lessons costing £4-14-6. The fees were raised, in March 1922, to £3-3-0 and again, to £4-4-0, in March 1925 (although some people paid £6-6-0).. These costs may be set in the context of income-levels over the period in question. Marwick (83) records weekly wage-levels just after the First World War as follows: agricultural

labourer - £2-6-0 (1920); general labourer - £2-18-3 (1919); bricklayer - £3-19-2 (1919); engine driver - £4-10-0 (1919).

An annual subscription at this time would thus have represented a greater amount than a week's pay for a number of categories of manual workers, and about 75% of the weekly pay of highly paid manual workers. While it would not have been impossible, the payment of such subscriptions might well have been very difficult for most manual workers. The figures presented by Mitchell and Deane (84) suggest that money wages and the cost of living went into a decline between 1920 and 1923, wages rising slightly between 1924 and 1926 and the cost of living rising in 1924, with both then declining for the rest of the decade. Weekly real wages were relatively high in 1921, falling in 1922, 1923 and 1924 and then rising from 1925 to 1930 (85).

Different industries and occupational areas fell within a relatively small range of variation in terms of their rises in average real incomes for the period 1925-30. Such figures are clearly of a general nature and, arguably, not sufficiently specific for the purposes of this study.

They are, however, to be taken in conjunction with the fact that Budokwai membership^{fees} stayed at the same level from 1922 to 1929 and that fees for private lessons did so from March 1925 to 1929. These facts would suggest that it might have been easier, marginally at least, for people of lower socio-economic status than was typical in the period 1918-20, for example, to become active in the Budokwai. While there is no firm basis for making comparisons relating to social composition at different times in the inter-war

period, as different specific types of evidence on this composition are available at different times, the trends pointed out above do fit in with an assertion that the general socio-economic status level of those involved in the Budokwai was somewhat lower in the latter part of the 1920s than it had been in the first few years of the Budokwai's existence. This may be interpreted in terms of a shift from a gentlemanly emphasis to one involving professional and white-collar elements in the main. Such a conclusion is of potential importance in examining the development of Kodokan Judo in the inter-war period.

Two other points may be made here relating to the significance, in terms of status, of aspects of the Budokwai's organisation and 'self-presentation'. Firstly, the settings of the Budokwai's annual displays of Jujutsu or Judo between 1919 and 1921, in the Aeolian Hall or the Royal Horticultural Hall, suggest a wish to use an impressive setting, having associations with activities familiar to those of high status (the Aeolian Hall being used for concerts of classical music). The costs involved in the hire of the halls were also considerable, according to the Budokwai records; the cost for 1919 (Aeolian Hall) was £11-11-0 while for 1920 it was £22-1-0 (on both occasions sales of tickets did in fact produce a profit).

Secondly, apart from the general composition of the Budokwai membership and of the group taking private lessons, it is useful to examine the composition of particular groups, or significant individuals, in the club. The Budokwai Committee in 1919 and 1920 (86) consisted of Koizumi, Commander Nakashima (Imperial Japanese Navy), E.H.Nelson

(who was enrolled with his address given as Imperial Chamber, Chancery Lane - a Customs and Excise Office - and c/o the Playgoers Club), H.Shepherd, MRCS, LRCP, W.E.Steers and G.Tanabe (who was enrolled c/o C.Zimmerman & Co.). The group here is clearly characterised by high occupational status, which is significant in terms of the club's self-image. Also, at the third and fourth Budokwai Displays (in 1920 and 1921) the Chairmen were Mr Osman Edwards, MA, (87) and Sir Percy Cunyngham, Bt. (88) respectively, reinforcing the point made above about the Committee.

There is thus a good deal of evidence suggesting that the Budokwai membership in the early years of the club (e.g. 1918-21) was marked by the presence of a significant number of people high in socio-economic status and by an apparent absence of people low in such status. From 1921 onwards there seems to have been a fair degree of continuity in this composition, with some examples of the entry of people of lower status. Thus, given the potential for variation in the placement of occupations in the scales of occupational prestige referred to above, the composition of the group of members enrolling between October 1927 and February 1929 may have been characterised by a not inconsiderable number of people from routine non-manual and various manual backgrounds. While no clear trend for the whole period can be established in this respect and the membership stays clearly weighted towards people of high socio-economic status through the period under study, the figures given on wages and prices during the 1920s suggest that the entry of people from lower-income groups might have been marginally easier during the late 1920s

than it had been earlier.

Elements in The Public Image of Judo in The Budokwai 1918-29

Having established, within limits, the socio-economic composition of the group involved in Jujutsu and Judo in the Budokwai between 1918 and 1929, it is necessary to attempt to explain why such people were involved in this activity and why, in particular, people of high status were attracted to it, in the first few years of the Budokwai's existence. This task can be undertaken through an examination of different elements in the image of Jujutsu and Judo as presented to the public, and of aspects of the activity which may have appealed to the people involved. Two 'background' factors may initially be examined, firstly a concern with physical health and secondly an interest in the Orient.

a) Concern with the state of health of the population

This is reflected in Koizumi's thinking about Jujutsu after the First World War:

"...I was inspired to do my bit for that end (improving the national standard of physical fitness which medical examinations of the first world war had shown to be abysmally low), by introducing the training on a popular basis" (89).

This point may be a reflection of a contrast, in Koizumi's mind, between Jujutsu as it was organised before the First World War and Jujutsu (and Judo) as it was to be organised at the Budokwai (i.e. the latter allowing for more 'popular participation' than the former). However, as has been pointed out, the practising group early on was clearly composed of high-status individuals, with fees charged being at a level which would hardly have encouraged popular

participation; on the other hand, later in the 1920s, lessons were given, at cheap rates to clubs and groups, in a way which has been referred to in terms of 'evangelising' activity (see page 122), thus fitting in more with Koizumi's idea.

A similar point to that made by Koizumi is made by Harrison:

"Talk of physical as well as economic and social reconstruction is in the air" (90).

It is interesting that Harrison follows the above point by a reference to the positive qualities of Judo in relation to health and fitness. These qualities are put in the context of British sporting activities (Harrison refers to cricket, football, rowing, tennis and boxing) but suggests that Judo may be superior to them in certain respects:

"...the votaries of Judo rightly claim that their art if consistently and intelligently practised, will bring about a more harmonious all-round physical development than any of the the forms of athletics above enumerated" (91).

The reference to 'harmonious, all-round' development is of significance here in relation to the social composition of the practising group in Jujutsu and Judo, as it may well have appealed to an aesthetic sense, possibly even in terms of the 'Greek ideal' of harmonious development. In a later article Harrison refers to the value of Judo in promoting muscular growth, a matter of

"...high hygienic importance" (92).

The idea of a balanced approach is further reinforced by the notion that exercises,

"...if pushed too far, prove more harmful than beneficial" (93).

A slight extension of the idea of harmonious development

through Judo is given by Harrison in a reference to its adaptability, with kata being a suitable area of activity for those of ('more advanced' age (94)). This point is also taken up by Steers, in his contribution to the Budokwai pamphlet "Judo, What Is It?". Steers had himself reached Dan grade after beginning Judo at the age of 47, and there seems to be a direct reflection of his experience in his contention that

"In the teaching and practice of JUDO there is no undue strain on the heart, because sustained or continued effort is unnecessary, whereas, as in wrestling, boxing and team work generally it is unavoidable" (95).

There is thus a clear connection between the adaptability of Judo and its character as a 'harmonious' form of development.

In the context of health, it is interesting to note that Steers reflects a point previously made about Kano stressing the safety of Judo (as a point of appeal to 'upper-class people'):

"The method of 'breaking fall' is the first thing taught, so that no discomfort is suffered from even apparently heavy throws which otherwise would result in considerable shock to the body" (96).

A concern with health is thus relevant as a background factor to the establishment of Jujutsu/Judo after the First World War, not so much in terms of concern with the state of health of the British people as in the character of Jujutsu/Judo as a form of all-round physical development, suitable for various age-groups and safe in practice. Several of these points are taken to be relevant to the appeal of Jujutsu/Judo to those of high status.

b) Interest in the Orient

The idea of interest in the Orient as a factor helping the establishment of Jujutsu/Judo is really in line with the points made about such interest in relation to Jujutsu before the First World War (see page 89). There are references which link interest in Judo with its Oriental background. Thus, for example, the 'Illustrated London News' report of the 1919 Budokwai Display refers to the display being

"...interesting and picturesque" (97), while the 'Daily Express' account of the same display refers to the use of

"...various weird yet murderous weapons" (98). Also, Harrison talks of the

"...very distinctive 'poise', alike physical and mental" (99)

characterising the 'leading lights' of Judo in Japan. Interest in the Orient is of some significance as an element in the explanation of the appeal of Judo to high-status individuals. While Oriental 'quaintness' and mystique were undoubtedly elements in the initial appeal of Jujutsu before the First World War, for example in the music-halls, and were thus of appeal to people across a wide social spectrum, the Orient would be likely to have had interest for people of high status, given diplomatic connections between Britain and Japan, for example. Perhaps of more significance is the fact that in some references to Japan or the Japanese additional points are brought out, such as the idea of the Japanese being chivalrous; such points could have had considerable appeal for those of high status in England,

as will be considered later.

Three aspects of Judo which have considerable relevance to participation in Jujutsu/Judo on the part of high-status individuals are: the idea of Judo as a 'superior' or 'refined' type of Jujutsu, the 'elegant' or 'refined' nature of the activity in Judo, and the 'chivalry' of Japanese martial forms.

c) Judo as a superior form of Jujutsu

The idea of Judo being an improved or refined form of Jujutsu has already been referred to, along with the basis of the 'superiority claims' made on its behalf (see page 107). What is significant here is the way in which such claims relate to the image of Judo presented to the English public, and the way in which this element of the image would have been relevant to high-status English people. Taking relevant references in chronological order, this idea of Judo as an improved Jujutsu was put forward as follows. The 'Times' account of the 1919 Budokwai Display simply refers to Judo as

"...an improved form of Jiujitsu" (100), while the 'Illustrated London News' report of the same event describes Judo as

"...a modernised form of 'Ju-jitsu ('the soft art') based on the principle of opposing elasticity to rigidity" (101).

Among the group of press articles appearing in January 1920, the 'Daily Sketch' of 13.1.20 refers to Judo as

"...a Japanese system of self-defence adapted on ju-jitsu lines to feminine muscles" (102),

the 'Daily Graphic' of the same date refers to it as

"...a variant of ju-jitsu now being taught in the West End" (103)

and, more interestingly, the 'Daily Mail' of 16.1.20 describes Judo (as explained by Koizumi) as

"...an improved form of ju-jitsu. It is not so dangerous - there is far less chance of broken arms and legs. It is more refined, more 'morally responsible', more sporting" (104).

A final example from this group of press features is in the 'Sunday Times', 25.1.20, with again a brief reference:

"Judo - which may be described as an improvement on Ju-jitsu" (105).

An article in the 'Star' of 21.4.20, looking forward to the 1920 Budokwai Display, goes into the point about 'improved' Jujutsu at some length, referring, for example, to Judo as follows:

"The Judo of the Kodokwan was formed by taking the best elements of the old sciences and freeing them of the cumbersome restrictions" (106);

further a 'prominent Japanese gentleman' is reported as referring to Jujutsu in the following way:

"...though Ju-jitsu no doubt strengthened the limbs, cultivated presence of mind, and created indomitable courage, it was lacking as a means of physical culture or 'spiritual' training, because the law of health was often sacrificed to the secrets of content " (107).

A final press reference making the same point is in the 'Daily Chronicle' of 17.11.20, where Judo is referred to as

"...a sort of advancement upon jiu-jitsu" (108).

The most significant of the above references is clearly that in the 'Daily Mail' article, with Koizumi being quoted along lines very similar to those in Kano's argument about Judo in comparison with Jujutsu. This is important bearing in mind Kano's concern with the safety of Judo (compared with Jujutsu) as an element heightening its appeal to those of high status.

d) Judo as an elegant or refined activity

The notion of the superiority of Judo is implicit in, and is also developed in, the idea of the technique in Judo manifesting 'elegance' and 'refinement'. This is shown in a number of press accounts. Thus Harrison suggests that Judo

"...relies for its triumphs far less upon brute strength than upon skill and finesse " (109)

and adds that

"Probably in subtlety and finesse fencing with the rapier presents a closer analogy to Judo than any other art I can recall at the moment" (110).

An account of the 1919 Budokwai Display contains the following:

"Nevertheless, there is an elegance and finished neatness about the throws that make them appear ridiculously easy and fill one with a longing to essay a bout" (111),

while another report of the same event combines the element of elegance and that of chivalry in referring to

"...the courtly grace and chivalry of the contestants " (112).

An account of the 1920 Budokwai Display refers to the performance of a 'Japanese lady', characterised by

"...grace and rapidity of movement " (113),

concluding that

"The whole performance was of the most picturesque and interesting character" (114).

Finally, an account of a display by Kano during his visit to England in 1920 refers to Ju-no-kata in the following terms:

"Ju-No-Kata has its aesthetic side, and every movement is intended to symbolise some idea, such as the inward rush of a tidal wave or other forces of nature. There is poetry in Ju-No-Kata" (115).

There is in these accounts a clear emphasis on Judo being far removed from any crude type of wrestling, and the language used in them would be likely to have appealed to people with a sense (or claimed sense) of 'refinement'.

e) Judo as a chivalrous or generally ethical activity

The next element in the 'image' of Judo to be considered here is that of chivalry. The English translation of the name 'Budokwai' as 'The Way of Knighthood Society' appears in several accounts (116), while in other instances there are references to the relevance of chivalry to Japanese martial arts and ways. A report of the 1919 Budokwai Display refers to an address on

"... 'Bushido', the code of honour on Japanese chivalry" (117),

while, among the group of newspaper articles appearing in January 1920 there is a reference to similarities between Japanese and English chivalry:

"East and West, the Samurai and the Knight had the same fine ideals" (118).

Another account contains a reference to the relevance of Judo, or Budo in general, to young people (quoting from the 'pioneers' of the movement in Britain);

"...to follow the ways of Budo or Knighthood is to lay a sure foundation for an ideal mental and physical development " (119).

There are additionally several references in press reports of Budokwai activities to a general 'ethical element' in Judo. Thus, for example, Harrison refers to the teaching of atemi-waza (striking techniques) and kappo (or katsu, that is techniques of resuscitation) being limited, in Japan, to

"...students who have reached a certain rank and whose good character leaves no room for doubt" (120),

while an account of Kano's visit in 1920 refers to the teaching of

"...ethics and athletics" (121)

at the Budokwai, and, in his contribution to the Budokwai pamphlet 'Judo, What Is It?', Harrison refers to

"...the ethical side of JUDO, upon which its founder, Dr Kano, has always laid great stress" (122).

Finally the 'Times' account of the 1919 Budokwai Display refers to the idea that

"...Judo inculcates certain moral principles" (123).

Again with the element of 'chivalry' as with those mentioned previously, it is suggested here that this was an element in the image of Judo which would have been of particular appeal to people of relatively high status.

f) Involvement of high-status individuals in Judo

It is also important to note that on some occasions reference was made in press accounts to the involvement of high-status individuals in the activities of the Budokwai. Two examples may be cited. Firstly, one of the accounts from the group appearing in January 1920, referring to the Budokwai, states that

"The membership is by no means confined to Japanese, but includes distinguished Englishmen and women interested in old Japan and the heroic days of the Samurai" (124).

Secondly, an account written during Kano's visit refers to the presence of 'society ladies' in the Budokwai and also contains the following:

"Mr Koizumi, the secretary, said that there are many titled persons who have joined the Budokwai and taken up Judo" (125).

While few in number, such references are highly significant, clearly reflecting a wish on Koizumi's part

to stress the involvement of high-status individuals in the Budokwai and, thus, presumably, to stimulate the growth of the membership.

g) Other elements

Attention has already been drawn to the stress, in the press coverage of Budokwai activities, in January 1920, on Jujutsu/Judo for women, with a clear emphasis on its benefits in terms of self-defence capacity. It seems that the degree of freedom for women to take up leisure activities not previously thought of as 'feminine' was enhanced after the First World War (126), and further it seems reasonable to assert that, bearing in mind the lead in the Suffragette movement given by women of high social status (127), at this point, soon after the end of the war, a message relating to women taking up an activity such as Judo would have appealed particularly to women of high status (through their backgrounds or in their own right).. Further, two of the above references, relating to involvement in the Budokwai on the part of people of high status, specify that women were active there (n.124 and 125). The fact that women were prepared to be seen in public (and in the press) in close physical contact with men, even allowing that the activity was designed to protect, rather than threaten, female 'virtue', suggests that the women in the Budokwai were characterised by a degree of emancipation.

A number of other points may be made which draw attention to factors of relevance to the explanation of the social composition of (in particular) the early Budokwai membership.

Firstly, bearing in mind the indicators of socio-economic status previously referred to in the Budokwai membership, it is reasonable to suppose that members were characterised, typically, by relatively prolonged experience of education, probably in high-status educational contexts (i.e. public schools). Given this assumption, and noting the number of people who, later in the 1920s, were members of 'established professions', it is thus interesting to note a theme in a number of press accounts relating to an 'intellectual' approach in Judo. One manifestation of this is in references to the 'scientific' nature of Judo technique. Kano's stress on the 'scientific' nature of Judo, in particular in the concept of seiryoku-zenyo, with the calculation of 'units of strength' to be applied in techniques, for example, (see Chapter 1) was also transmitted in the British setting. Thus Harrison refers to the basis of Judo in

"...an intimate knowledge of the dynamic laws, balance and leverage entering largely into all its numerous tricks" (128).

In a similar vein an account of a demonstration by Kano refers to Judo as

"...a study of the physics of leverage and balance" (129).

It is also significant that the programme of Kano's last lecture/demonstration on his 1920 visit (on 20.11.20, at the Aeolian Hall) contained no less than three kata, which would demonstrate the principles underlying Judo techniques. While giving demonstrations of kata is not necessarily a sign of an assumption of an intellectual approach on the part of an audience, it is reasonable to assert that a

stress on such an approach in presenting Judo would have been thought more productive when dealing with an audience composed of relatively 'highly educated' people.

Another point which may be examined here is relevant to the period, later in the 1920s, when a 'Judo approach' had become more established in the Budokwai, with the development of grading and promotion examinations, for example. One element in the grading system is that Judo lays down a series of steps along which a person may progress, the development of expertise being marked by promotions. There is here a clear reflection of the notion of 'career', with a series of steps in a particular direction, in a progressive manner, and this could well have had an appeal to members of the Budokwai who were in career occupations, and to those who might have had an interest in enhancing their status through membership and activity in the club. While the available evidence makes this a speculative conclusion, it is, perhaps, an interesting reflection on the tendency for people in businesses not automatically conferring high social status to become members of the Budokwai at the time when the Judo approach was developing in the club.

Also, the predominant elements in the social composition for the period 1927-29 were those in professional and white-collar occupations, that is firstly a group to whom career would be relevant and secondly a group to whom status-enhancement might well have been significant.

A final point of relevance to the social composition of the active group at the Budokwai is the personality of

Gunji Koizumi. He is often referred to as a very 'charming' person (130) and, perhaps more significantly, his activities in the field of Oriental lacquer-work suggest that he would, firstly, have made contact with numerous people of high status and, secondly would have been known in 'society' in London. Both these points are clearly relevant to the attraction of the Budokwai to people of high status.

Social Connections Within The Budokwai Membership

It has already been demonstrated that the membership of the Budokwai increased significantly as a result of press coverage of club activities, during January 1920; in that case it is likely that individuals were responding, individually, to the 'stimulus' of the press message. It is, however, also relevant to consider the extent to which information about the club and its activities may have been transmitted more informally, for example through social connections between members and those who later became members. One (limited) way of examining this possibility is to consider the extent of 'internal connections' within the membership (131).

Such connections may be examined under three headings: family connections (or at least recruitment of people with the same surname and usually sharing the same address), shared address, other connection. There are nine instances of family connections, as recorded in the Budokwai Membership Log:

Miss E. Romalo (joined 10.1.20) and Miss A. Romalo (20.1.20) (addresses different);
Miss D.F. May (27.1.20) and Mr A. May (17.2.20) (address shared); (132)
H. Scuffle and G. Scuffle (both 9.5.20) (address shared);
Mrs L. Barker and Miss E. Barker (both 24.8.20), (address shared);

G.Erith (10.3.22), R.Erith (8.5.22), H.Erith (24.7.22)
(addresses different);
Miss B.Woolhouse (30.9.24) and Mrs F.Woolhouse (12.1.27)
(address shared);
Miss S.Ray (2.6.27) and Miss W.Ray (6.7.27) (address
shared);
S.Hudson and F.Hudson (both 5.3.28) (address
shared);
H.Rose Dale and Millicent Rose Dale (both 31.5.28)
(address shared).

There are here a number of possibilities for types of family relationship involved; two are the presence of a parent and a child (which seems likely in the case of Mrs and Miss Barker) on the one hand, and the presence of siblings on the other (for example with the Romalos and the Rays).

These instances are of interest as reflections of the age-range involved in the Budokwai membership, in particular in terms of the presence in the membership of what might now be termed 'juniors'. Clearly, however, in themselves they provide only a very limited picture.

There are five examples of shared addresses ('shared' in a more or less specific sense):

Capt. Bright Smith (18.10.19) and Capt. Gauntlett (15.11.19);
Miss M.Shaw and Miss L.Gordon (both 12.11.20);
W.Beattie and Miss B.Dell (both 1.2.21)
Miss E.Romalo (10.1.20) and Miss A. Berinder (9.3.20)
In addition, three people are recorded with addresses in Chetwynd Road, NW5 - as well as the Mays (see above), Miss M.Ree is recorded with an address in the same road. However, the gap in time (Miss Ree enrolling in January 1928) and the fact that each of the Mays paid only one subscription may mean that any connection here was coincidental.

One example of a different type of connection is provided by the enrolment (6.2.22) of Lieut.-Colonel E.F.Strange, Keeper of the Department of Woodwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum. As Koizumi acted, from 1922 onwards, as a Consultant to the Museum, on Oriental lacquer-work, the connection here seems quite clear.

Apart from such specific connections, it may well

be that knowledge of the Budokwai spread informally through a group of high-status people in the area of London of the Budokwai; for example, 18 people with addresses in the W1 and SW1 postal districts joined the club between 1918 and the end of 1920.

The Nature of Judo Practice in The Budokwai

Reference has already been made (see page 107) to the probable nature of the actual activity in Jujutsu before the First World War, Leggett, for example referring to it as

"...little more than a collection of surprising tricks" (133).

In conversation with the writer in 1975 Leggett suggested that, in Judo before the Second World War (Leggett's experience being from 1931 onwards) few people trained 'thoroughly', most people being more interested in 'mystical elements', seeking a 'magic formula' for self-defence and not feeling a need to train hard (134). Apart from such references, it is possible to arrive at certain conclusions about the nature of training and practice in Jujutsu and Judo in the Budokwai during the 1920s. The social composition in the first three years of the Budokwai's existence in itself suggests some limits to the 'seriousness' of practice, hard exertion not fitting in with a gentlemanly ethos. It is necessary here to establish some standard of 'seriousness' for practice. Accounts written at the time of Koizumi's death (1965) refer to the development of 'moral' or 'character' training in Judo (as compared with Jujutsu) (135). It is argued here that this development was not immediate, but clearly by the period after the Second World

War (up to the early 1960s) it had reached a point where commitment to Judo could be very strong, involving prolonged training trips to Japan for a large number of players, for example (136). As will be indicated, this approach occurred in a period where the social composition of the elite practising group in Judo in Britain was not characterised by status-levels as high as those in the early Budokwai; more specifically, in the period in question (the 1950s in particular) people involved in Judo often had a chance of gaining occupational status through Judo activity, and did not usually start their Judo careers with a high level of inherited status which might be 'endangered' by a very strong commitment to Judo (137). By contrast, clear indications have been given that, in the first three years of the Budokwai's existence (in particular) many of the people joining, or taking lessons at, the Budokwai were of high socio-economic status. In those cases where the person was adult at the time of joining, it is most unlikely that he or she would have given up an existing occupation as a doctor or solicitor, for example, to devote him or herself to Judo; in the cases where it appears that a 'young person' was involved, with prospects of attaining high occupational status (and there are examples from the Budokwai Log of people being associated with public schools or universities) it is again unlikely that he or she would have given up such prospects for the sake of Judo activity. There are, in fact, no indications of people becoming committed to Judo in the manner quite common in the 1950s (although, of course, Harrison and Steers had studied Judo in Japan, they seem to have gone there primarily for business reasons).

In other words, the activity at this time (1918 to the early 1920s, at most) should not be regarded as being constitutive or reconstitutive of the person in the way that it could be in the 1950s, and was unlikely to have had any 'uprooting effect' on people in relation to their social backgrounds.

It is possible to identify certain elements in the Budokwai membership, taking two dimensions, status-level of the person concerned and degree of involvement (measured by length of membership (see page 100). Thus there are examples of people clearly of high status taking lessons or joining the Budokwai, but not retaining membership or repeating lessons, while others are far more persistent in their activity (a good example being Sir Percy Cunnynggham Bt, who joined in 1920 and achieved Dan Grade in 1927); in addition there are examples of people of lower status being involved for short or for longer periods (if 'class' terminology is used, the range here would be from 'upper' to 'lower-middle' class).

Evidence on Grading Standards.

One further way of examining the nature of the activity in the Budokwai is to look at the proportion of total membership becoming Dan grades. Taking a simple measure of the number of people becoming Dan grades in relation to the total number of people enrolled in particular periods, the following pattern emerges. Taking those enrolled between January 1918 and the end of 1923 (76 males and 30 females), six became Dan grades (all of them male), giving a ratio of 1 in 17.66 achieving Dan grade. For those enrolled between January 1924 and April 1929 (99 males and 15 females), 13

achieved Dan grade (11 male and 2 female), giving a ratio of 1 in 8.76. Accurate comparative information for the general period since World War 2 is not available. In a letter to 'Judo' Magazine in 1973, however, a figure of 2% of all British Judo Association members being Dan grades is quoted (138), which suggests that the proportion in the Budokwai in the 1920s was extremely high. Interpreting this is not completely straightforward, however. The lower ratio for the second part of the period considered (that is 1924-29) could be a reflection of a developing seriousness of approach, in Judo activity; as the Kodokan 'message' spread in the Budokwai, during the 1920s, there would have been a stronger orientation towards grading through contest activity so that, even assuming that there were no changes of seriousness of approach on the part of individuals, there would have been greater likelihood of more people (out of the total membership) being graded, possibly up to Dan grade. It is also possible that, over the 1920s there was a greater tendency to the enrolment of people with 'superior' physical qualities; in this case there may, for example, have been some diminution of the age-range involved in the Budokwai membership, so that more young adult males enrolled, which would have increased the potential for reaching Dan grade. Some light may be thrown on this by examining enrolments during the period from October 1927 to February 1929, when occupations were recorded for a number of new members, and by relating these to later details of grades achieved. Where occupations are recorded, given the nature of the occupations (see pages 117-8) it is reasonable to assume that the people involved

were at least 'young adults' at the time of enrolment; where no occupation is recorded it cannot be assumed that the person concerned was too young for employment, but such young people are likely to have been involved in the group without recorded occupations. Taking males without recorded occupations (enrolling between October 1927 and February 1929), seven appeared on the club grading list, compiled in January 1930, and seven did not, indicating that, if these were 'young' entrants, a sizeable proportion of them took up the activity in a way which could have led them to Dan grade (in fact, two of the seven went on to reach Dan grade). Of the females without recorded occupation, two appeared in the 1930 grading list (both 'Miss') while five did not (four of these were 'Miss' and one 'Mrs'). Thus, of the total of 21 members without recorded occupation, a group which, it is suggested, is most likely to have contained those entering the club at a young age, nine were still involved in Judo in an active way (having taken grading examinations, with more or less success) in January 1930 while 12 either had not continued the activity or had not become involved in grading. The significance of this analysis is that, if there was an element of people entering the Budokwai who were of an age which would have made them relatively unlikely to achieve success in grading in a short period (because of physical immaturity and, perhaps, because they were not particularly 'serious' about the activity), this did not stop a reasonable proportion of them maintaining their activity to a point where they could achieve some such success. On the other hand, if the group

of new members who did not have occupations recorded on entering the club did not in fact contain many young people, but involved adults (who for some reason did not have an occupation recorded), then this in turn helps to explain why a higher proportion of entrants from 1924 onwards went on to achieve Dan grade. It is not possible to establish exactly what 'categories' of people (e.g. children, young adults, older people) and in what proportions, joined the Budokwai in its early years; however it is clear that the membership was to a considerable extent a reflection of the image of the club presented to the public. A good example of this point is the influx of female members following the press coverage, in January 1920, which emphasised, (through photographs) self-defence for females. If, therefore, as clearly happened, the Budokwai moved, during the 1920s, towards being a more 'pure' Judo club, then it is possible that the membership reflected this, with people entering the club who had more chance of achieving success in grading, for example.

The above point may help to explain why the ratio of Dan grades to total membership fell during the 1920s, but it does not explain the overall size of the ratio compared with even the very rough approximation for the period after the Second World War. Reference has been made to the 'inspiring' personality of Koizumi and it might be that a very high proportion of people starting Judo persevered to the point of reaching Dan grade because he was able to inspire them to do so. On the other hand, it also seems likely that the physical demands characteristic

of modern Judo were not found to the same extent in the 1920s. It does, indeed, seem reasonable to suggest that Judo practice in the 1920s was not as 'hard' physically, as it later became. Certainly a relevant point is that Koizumi's approach was based clearly on the idea of 'skill without strength'. This emerges in a series of articles written by Koizumi in 1929 and 1930 in the Budokwai journal, the 'Budokwail', referring to the need for balance and swift changes of posture (139), to technical principles but not to fitness (140) and to the need for correct 'deportment' ('shisei') (141). On the other hand he also refers to the development of abdominal strength (142), although this involves the development of 'unified body power' and can be contrasted with the idea of excessive dependence of arm and shoulder strength, for instance. Reminiscences of people at the time of Koizumi's death reinforce the impression to an extent. Thus Hopkins refers to Koizumi's ability to control and opponent's movements arising not

"...from bodily superiority but from a special system of movement - Tai sabaki he called it - which, once mastered, effectively nullified such physical advantages as superior size, strength, weight or youth" (143).

On the other hand, Kaye refers to Koizumi's

"...panther-like movement on the mat, his own special combination of grace, speed and strength " (144);

this puts strength as the last factor, however, with grace as the first, and does not invalidate the idea that Koizumi would have stressed the development of skill, with strength being far less strongly emphasised. The idea of the relative absence of a 'physical emphasis' in Judo in the 1920s is

reinforced by the statement by W.E.Steers, already referred to, that Judo was suitable for all ages because it avoided 'sustained effort' (see page 129). One final point relevant to this argument is the impression given in reports of the first International Judo Contests, involving the Budokwai and clubs in Frankfurt and Wiesbaden, that, while the Budokwai representatives were superior in skill, the Germans were stronger and fitter (145), suggesting at least a relative lack of a 'physical emphasis' in the British case.

Another relevant indication relating to the nature of Judo activity in practice is the time taken by players to reach Dan grade. For those enrolling between 1918 and 1923, the average time taken was just under seven years (this cannot be a specific measurement as only the year of promotion, and not the month, is recorded), while for 1924-29 the time was about four years (for men) and eight years (for women). The point made earlier about the development of a 'Judo' approach as such over the 1920s is relevant to the longer time taken generally for those enrolling in the earlier period. That is, it would have taken longer for the earlier group to reach Dan grade, as the activity evolved towards a form stressing grading contests, for example. This point does not contradict an earlier point about technical continuities between Jujutsu and Judo; the initial form of activity under the title 'Judo' would probably have been very close to that in the earlier 'Jujutsu' form, while it would have developed towards a more clearly different form over time, as Kodokan Judo moved towards its 'essential' form. It is not possible to obtain comprehensive comparative information on time taken to

reach Dan grade for later periods, records not being kept on this. It is possible, however, to obtain a comparative picture relating to limited groups of more recent players, bearing in mind limitations on the representatives of these groups. There are two groups about which information is available. The first is that presented in a series of articles in 'Judo' Magazine, entitled 'Judo Personalities', running from October 1956 to September 1959 and involving 34 features, of which 22 provide information on time taken to reach Dan grade. The second group is that in J.M.Goodger's study of elite players from different periods (146). In both cases the people involved are part of the Judo elite, the great majority of whom have progressed beyond 1st Dan (all but two of the 36 people involved have in fact done so), and it is likely that they reached Dan grade comparatively quickly (that is in comparison with those whose ultimate achievement was 1st Dan), a point which must be taken into account in making comparisons with the early Budokwai figures. As there is some overlap between the two groups, they have been combined here, avoiding double counting. There are thus 11 people who began Judo in the 1920s or 1930s (four in the 1920s and seven in the 1930s) and they took, on average, just under four years to reach Dan grade. The second group consists of 25 people who began Judo in the 1940s or 1950s and they took, on average, just under three years to reach Dan grade. Even if the absolute levels involved here (i.e. number of years) may represent some over-estimation of speed of reaching Dan grade, it is interesting to note a 'speeding-up' process

in the period after the Second World War, compared with the inter-war period. This trend may be interpreted as follows. If Judo in the 1920s was based on a stress on developing skill in a relatively physically undemanding way, it would have been possible for quite a high proportion of the Budokwai membership to attain Dan grade, although perhaps taking quite a long time to do so; on the other hand, although not denying the priority given to skill development in post-war Judo, if, as it clearly did, training became more intensive, physically, in that period, it would have enabled some people to reach Dan grade more quickly, development of better levels of fitness and possession of 'superior' physical qualities enabling relatively rapid progress to be made.

Physical Characteristics of the Budokwai Practising Group

The discussion on Judo activity up to this point makes relevant some consideration of what may be termed the 'physical composition' of the practising group at the Budokwai. There was in the early years of the Budokwai a quite large female element and also, as has been suggested, quite a large age-range (147). This is relevant to the foregoing discussion on the nature of practice in the Budokwai, as the number of male members in the 'young adult' age-group (the group most likely to have been involved in 'hard' practice, if such practice was accepted as a possibility) would, at any particular time, probably have been small, which would be likely to inhibit the extent of regular hard practice. It is difficult to obtain an overall picture of the 'physical types' in the early Budokwai. It is perhaps significant

that Koizumi and Tani were relatively small (perhaps 5'6" tall, at most, and lightly built), as was E.J.Harrison. The points previously made about Koizumi's approach to Judo suggest that the qualities which he valued most would have been found more readily among relatively small players than among large ones. While not mentioning specific dimensions, Harrison does refer to a number of 'big, beefy' players in the Budokwai (towards the end of the 1920s), naming three, Dunkley, Hamdi Mustafa and Bankier (148). The club grading list from January 1930 indicates that Dunkley had attained 5th Kyu (the second grade after beginner) having enrolled in October 1927 and that Bankier had attained 1st Kyu (the grade immediately before Dan grade), also having enrolled in October 1927. Mustafa had left the club by this time, but had attained 1st Dan in 1929, having enrolled in January 1927. While as has been indicated (see page 99) it is not possible to indicate the frequency of practice by individuals, the above information suggests that it was possible for 'large' players to advance reasonably quickly. As a final point, there is no evidence of references, in press coverage, to small people being able, through the practice of Judo (or Jujutsu) to overcome larger assailants or opponents, although such an idea is implicit in references to the effectiveness of Judo as a means of self-defence for women.

Judo in Britain in The 1930s

Developments in British Judo during the 1930s may be briefly sketched. The scale of activity increased, at least on certain bases. Thus, of non-Japanese who enrolled

in the Budokwai between 1918 and April 1929, 20 became Dan grades, while 45 people (from those who took up Judo after April 1929, a total which is not known) became Dan grades during the 1930s. From 1929 onwards there was a development of international competitions, starting with matches between the Budokwai and German clubs, as previously mentioned (see page 148). Jigoro Kano visited Britain on five occasions between 1920 and 1936, three of these visits occurring during the 1930s (1932, 1933 and 1936). On the 1933 visit Kano was accompanied by two Japanese 6th Dans (Takasaki and Kotani) and the latter stayed to be Instructor at the Budokwai; he only stayed for three months, however, being recalled by his employers, Manchurian Railways (149). The 1933 visit by Kano and the others took in Austria, Germany, France and Belgium as well as England (150); the 'evangelising' activity of the Kodokan is also indicated by the fact that Kotani travelled also to South America, visiting Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Ecuador, being sponsored by the Japanese government (151). This active exporting of Judo by the Japanese suggests that, while Kano was initially concerned to present Judo to a fairly exclusive audience in Japan, as it became established he was interested in spreading it widely, a policy in keeping with the principle of jita kyoei (mutual welfare and benefit).

Summary

The main points relating to the development of Jujutsu and Judo in Britain up to 1939 may be summarised as follows. The starting-point for Judo in Britain is to be found in Jujutsu as it was established before the First

World War, with two major 'strands' of activity, music-hall appearances by Japanese exponents, which brought Jujutsu to a wide audience, and the foundation of Jujutsu schools, which seem to have had a limited 'clientele' of affluent, high-status individuals. The establishment of Jujutsu in England was undoubtedly facilitated by interest, at the time, in physical culture, wrestling in general, and in the Orient. The establishment of Jujutsu at this time, and with this clientele, suggests that there may have been significant differences between Britain as a receiving society for the activity and some other European countries. For example it appears that the emphasis with German Jujutsu (n.24) in the 1920s was different from that in Jujutsu and Judo in England, a large police and military participation, for example, suggesting a modern bujutsu emphasis rather than a budo emphasis. While information about the social composition of the rest of the German Jujutsu population is not available, it may be suggested that Jujutsu would have been unlikely to displace duelling as an upper-class activity, since this seems to have been a significant element in conceptions of manhood among Germans of this class. The most significant immediate factor in the establishment of Judo is the founding of the Budokwai in 1918, initially for Jujutsu rather than Judo, and with a strong Japanese emphasis in the membership (which soon gave way to predominantly non-Japanese membership). There were, however, forces pushing the club towards Kodokan Judo from the beginning, and the specific transition may be traced to the 1920 visit to England of Jigoro Kano. This change is more significant in some ways than in others. For example, as

with Jujutsu and Judo in Japan, there were considerable technical continuities between the two forms, so that the techniques involved in Judo would probably not have been very different from those practised during the 'Jujutsu period'. However, it is likely that 'free practice' (and, later, contests) would have come to greater prominence within the Judo framework, while the grading system would have become established. While a claimed higher moral tone in Judo than in Jujutsu was an important factor in publicity for the Budokwai, it is not likely that the ethical aspects of Kodokan Judo were particularly important in the early Budokwai, in practical terms, as commitment to Judo practice in a really strong form (in comparison with approaches after the Second World War) does not seem to have been characteristic of the 1920s at least.

The social composition of the early Budokwai membership quite clearly shows an emphasis on high-status individuals, that is, 'gentlemen' and, while such people remained an important element in the membership over the 1920s there is evidence of some movement towards a more mixed social composition later in that decade, with a professional and white-collar emphasis. It is interesting to speculate on the atmosphere of the Budokwai at this time, when mixing between people widely separated in status was hardly a common feature of English society (although the possibility of it was perhaps greater where the focus of a shared activity was present, rather than interaction itself being the interest of the group). There are several aspects of the Budokwai's 'image', and of the activity in Jujutsu or Judo, which help to explain

the high-status emphasis in the club membership, particularly in the early years. The following are the most important factors: interest in the Orient, refinement and elegance of the activity, absence of 'crude' exertion, the chivalry of those involved, self-defence capacity (especially for women), an intellectual approach (e.g. in the scientific nature of Judo technique), relevance of the notion of career and finally the personality of Gunji Koizumi himself. It seems most likely that activity in the Budokwai, especially up to the mid 1920s, did not involve 'hard' practice (in post-Second World War terms). Thus there was a stress on developing skill rather than on physical fitness, and a high proportion of all entrants attained Dan grade (suggesting that the activity was not strongly selective in terms of physical qualities), although (perhaps) relatively slowly. The likely educational background of many Budokwai members in the 1920s, that is in public schools, is relevant here, in that such a background would tend to inculcate a gentlemanly approach to sporting or allied activities. The Budokwai initially, and up to about the mid 1920s, was thus an institution which gave English people of high status a 'taste of the Orient' and a taste of physical activity, although not too strenuously, with the added (possible) benefit of enhanced self-defence capacity, should that have proved necessary for the people involved. It was thus a centre for activity which could be fitted into the 'social round' without being likely to alter the direction of people's lives, although some individuals may have become rather more deeply committed. Towards the end of the 1920s, with the entry of rather more people of

(somewhat) lower status and the development of a 'Judo' approach, this picture seems to have changed, and as, for example, international contests began to be held, the seeds of a 'sport' approach began to be sown, although Koizumi certainly did not agree with a sport approach as such, (see Chapter 4). By the end of the inter-war period, therefore, Judo had certainly changed to quite a degree from its initial form in England, so making it possible for Judo to develop, after the Second World War, towards its modern form, as is discussed subsequently.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1) In studying the 'social composition' of the groups practising Jujutsu and Judo the main focus will be on socio-economic status rather than on 'class' specifically. Information on the class composition of the groups as such is very limited, being rather greater for the Budokwai after the First World War. For the period before the First World War, in Jujutsu clubs, such pointers as are available are more relevant to status than to class; in general, for the whole of the relevant period up to the Second World War, the setting of a club, with people interacting directly in it, makes the use of status as a reference point relevant (through the 'social estimation of honour' in such interactions). For additional points on the use of status as the basis for analysing social composition in the Budokwai after the First World War, see note 75.
- (2) Shortt, J. & Hashimoto, K., "Beginning Jiu Jitsu Ryoi-Shinto Style", Paul Crompton, 1979, page 44
- (3) Ibid., page 45
- (4) Ibid., page 45. Barton-Wright was resident in Japan for over nine years and studied Jujutsu under various teachers.
- (5) Ibid., page 45
- (6) Reay, A., "A History of the British Judo Association" Part 1, Judo, Vol. 18, No.6, August 1975, page 10
- (7) Instruction took place at Charterhouse School, Oxford University, Cambridge University, RMA Woolwich and the Naval Schools of Physical Training, Portsmouth and Whale Island. An exception to the pattern is in Tani's teaching in the East London 'Tigerbay' gymnasium of the Health and Strength League (with which Tani was connected through a contact with William Bankier), although this does not limit the conclusion that Jujutsu was basically an activity, in participation terms at least, of high-status people.
- (8) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., pages 46 and 131
- (9) Ibid., page 46
- (10) Routh ("Occupation and Pay in Great Britain 1906-60", Cambridge University Press, 1965) indicates the different (weighted) averages, for weekly pay, for different occupational groups: foremen - £2-3-4, skilled men (in coal mining, manufacturing/maintenance, building, electricians, railways) - £1-17-0, semi-skilled (agriculture, manufacturing, transport, Post Office, utilities, shop) - £1-4-3,

- (10) cont.
unskilled (labourers in building, railways, engineering, brewing, local authority employment) - £1-3-3. These compare with higher-professional averages (barristers, solicitors, doctors, dentists), for 1913-14, of £7-9-0 and lower-professional averages (teachers, draughtsmen, veterinary inspectors and laboratory assistants) for 1913 of £2-19-6 and clerical averages of £1-17-0. Clearly there would be, within any group or category of people, variations in the proportion of income that they would be prepared to pay to meet the cost of leisure activities, so that no fixed proportion of weekly income could be given as a 'ceiling' for such expenditure. However, it is also clear that the manual groups and the clerical, quoted above, would have found it harder, in financial terms, to meet expenditures of which the 12/- quoted would have been only one element.
- (11) See e.g. Read, D., "Edwardian England", Harrap, 1972, pages 65-6; Thompson, P., "The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society", Paladin, 1977, page 108
- (12) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 45
- (13) Ibid., page 45
- (14) See e.g. Whitford, F., "Japanese Prints and Western Painters", Studio Vista, 1977, pages 21-3, 235-9
- (15) Storry, R., "Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia 1894-1943", Macmillan, 1979, e.g. pages 35, 63, 64
- (16) Ibid., page 64; Reay, op.cit., page 8
- (17) Storry, op.cit., page 50
- (18) See e.g. Webster, D., "The Iron Game", Irvine, 1976, pages 21-3, 39.
- (19) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 49
- (20) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 46
- (21) For example, (in relation to a slightly later period) see Ogilvie, V., "Our Times", Batsford, 1953, page 182
- (22) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 56. If the address of the school is not too tenuous an indicator, it may suggest a relatively high-status clientele for French Jujutsu.
- (23) See e.g. Judo, Vo. 9, No.9, June 1965 (special section of tributes, 16th page - pages not numbered).

- (24) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., pages 56 and 58. Some information about German Jujutsu in the late 1920s is provided in the 'Budokwai' (Vol 1, No.7, October 1929). This suggests that, of 300,000 exponents, 250,000 were either soldiers or policemen, the other 50,000 being 'amateurs of various denominations', and that the German Jujutsu technique was 'somewhat less advanced' than that of the Budokwai team members meeting them in contest.
- (25) As Shortt & Hashimoto demonstrate, Jujutsu activity continued in the inter-war period and after the Second World War (op.cit., pages 54-60, 65-6). This thesis is not centrally concerned with these later developments, the consideration of Jujutsu before the First World War being undertaken because of its relevance to the subsequent development of Judo,
- (26) The main relevant points in Koizumi's biography are recorded in Shortt & Hashimoto (op.cit., pages 47 and 49), in Koizumi (Koizumi, G., "My Study of Judo", Foulsham, 1960, pages 17-18) and in Judo, Vol.9., No.9, June 1965 (special section of tributes, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth pages, pages not numbered).
- (27) Koizumi, op.cit., page 18; Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., pages 47 and 49
- (28) Koizumi himself refers to this as a period 'studying electrical engineering' (op.cit., page 18) but Shortt & Hashimoto refer to him working as a 'powerhouseman' in a generating station (op.cit., page 49), as does Reay (op.cit., page 9). While Reay attributes Koizumi's description to his 'tongue-in-cheek' approach and to his sense of humour, another interpretation is that he was concerned with status and status-enhancement. As will be shown, there are reasons for supporting this interpretation.
- (29) Russell-Smith, E., "Tribute", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 82, July 1965, page 5.
- (30) Judo, Vol.9, No. 9, June 1965, special section of tributes (last page) pages not numbered. Similar information on Koizumi's activities in lacquer-work is given by Lister (Lister, M., "Tribute", Judo Bulletin - Budokwai - No. 82, July 1965, page 16), who was in fact responsible for the above account in 'Judo'.
- (31) Ibid., pages 12-13. The Budokwai Membership Log entries for January and February 1918 show two Japanese registered at 12 Alderney Street, SW1, three at Lime Street, EC3, and nine at 7 Bishopsgate, EC2, suggesting that the people involved were staying in lodgings, which would be consistent with the point made by Lister.
- (32) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 51

- (33) Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 51
- (34) Harrison, E.J., "The Art of Judo; Japanese Physical Culture Explained", Health and Strength, 3rd May 1919
- (35) Ibid.
- (36) Ibid.
- (37) Ibid.
- (38) Harrison, E.J., "First Lessons in Judo", I-IV, Health and Strength, 10th to 31st May 1919
- (39) Harrison, "The Art of Judo: Japanese Physical Culture Explained", op.cit.
- (40) Koizumi, op.cit., page 18
- (41) See the Evening News 12th January 1920, Daily Sketch 13th January 1920, "Judo: What Is It?" (pamphlet published by the Budokwai, August 1920). Further, the prominent place of kendo and other martial forms in early (1918-20) Budokwai Displays clearly indicates the 'mixed' nature of the activity, while Budokwai notepaper (in 1921) was headed 'Judo' on one side of the Budokwai badge and 'Kendo' on the other. The use of newspaper sources in this study is initially guided by the items found in the Budokwai's own Scrapbook, which begins in 1918 and contains newspaper cuttings, Display programmes and other items (such as the Budokwai pamphlet 'Judo: What Is It?'). The comprehensiveness of coverage in the Scrapbook has been checked, at the British Library Newspaper Library, Colindale, in relation to certain specific periods of significance in relation to establishing the nature of Jujutsu/Judo activity at the time:
 - a) the month of January 1920 (a period of important press coverage of Budokwai activities, as is discussed on pages 98-100);
 - b) a week after two of Jigoro Kano's lecture/demonstrations on his 1920 visit (30th July and 20th November);
 - c) a week after each of the first three Budokwai Displays (11th May 1918, 31st May 1919, 5th May 1920). As a result of this checking, The Scrapbook has been found to give comprehensive coverage for the above periods, in terms of London-based national daily and Sunday newspapers, with two omissions: a) The Daily Express 31st May 1919 refers to the Budokwai Display (happening that evening), as "...a display of two-sworded fighting at the Aeolian Hall" by "Japanese swordsmen"; b) the Times of 2nd June 1919 gives a report of the 1919 Display, which is quoted during this chapter. In relation to the above categories of newspaper, for the above periods, therefore, points quoted from newspapers are taken from a complete survey of accounts. In addition, however, certain points have been taken from other sources (e.g. periodicals) in the Scrapbook; in these cases the references are taken to be illustrative of themes established by the newspaper coverage.

- (42) See e.g. the Sunday Times 1st June 1919, Illustrated London News 7th June 1919, Daily Mail 17th January 1920, Daily Star 21st April 1920, Daily Mail 27th April 1920, Daily Express 31st July 1920
- (43) Reay, op.cit., page 8
- (44) The money was spent as follows: The Times - £13-13-0, Daily Telegraph - £2-8-0, Health and Strength - £3-4-10, The Boy Scout - £2-0-0, the Financial Times - 8/-, The Bystander - £6-0-0.
- (45) 'Judo' is referred to in the following reports: Sunday Pictorial 11th January 1920, Evening News 12th January 1920, Daily Sketch 13th January 1920, Daily Graphic 13th January 1920, Daily Mail 16th January 1920. The term 'Jiu-jitsu' is used in the Daily Mail 13th January 1920, while in the Evening Standard 17th January 1920 reference is made to studying the 'ways of Knighthood'.
- (46) The Sunday Pictorial 11th January 1920 has two pictures, one of a woman executing a hip-throw as a counter to a neck-grip by a man, and the other of a woman executing a leg-hold against a man with a fist raised. The Evening News 12th January 1920 has the same picture of the leg-hold. The Daily Sketch 13th January 1920 has two pictures, one of a woman executing a leg-hold against a man on his back and the other of a woman applying an arm-lock against a man on his face on the ground. The Daily Mail 13th January 1920 has a picture of a woman applying a leg-hold from a lying position and, finally, the Daily Graphic 13th January 1920 has the same picture of a hip-throw as that in the Sunday Pictorial.
- (47) The Sunday Pictorial 11th January 1920 refers to "...these days when outbreaks of ruffianism appear to be getting common", the Evening News 12th January 1920 to a woman with knowledge of Judo being able to "...turn a robber out of her house" and the Daily Sketch 13th January 1920 to "Woman as her own escort". Three later accounts reinforce this point, the Sunday Times 25th January 1920 referring to "How the Japanese Handle the Bully", the Daily Sketch 29th January 1920 to the "Hold-up Menace: How Women May Defend Themselves" and the Star, 21st April 1920 to "...the number of burglaries and hold-ups we hear about nowadays".
- (48) Additionally, on 17th January 1920 the Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror carried pictures of a Japanese New Year Emblem being displayed on the door of the Budokwai.
- (49) Memberships starting in 1928 or after are not discounted, as repeated and prolonged memberships could not be indicated, the Log records ending in April 1929.

- (50) See Lister, "Tribute", op.cit., page 16, Judo, Vol.9, No. 9, June 1965, special section of tributed, last page (pages not numbered).
- (51) See "Judo Personalities No.3: E.J.Harrison", Judo, Vol.1, No. 3, December 1956, page 23, Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 53.
- (52) Ibid., pages 53-4
- (53) Daily Graphic 20th November 1920
- (54) Daily Express 31st July 1920
- (55) Judo, Vol.9, No.9, June 1965, special section of tributes (pages not numbered)
- (56) Ibid.
- (57) Koizumi, op.cit., page 18
- (58) Koizumi's approach to 'commercialism' in the context of Judo must be set against the fact that, as has been indicated, he had a successful career in business, dealing in oriental lacquer-work, apparently built up from a very limited financial basis when first arriving in England (Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 47). An indication of his commercial success, and at the same time of his wish to help the Judo movement, is the extent of his personal financial contribution to the Budokwai in the inter-war period. Lister ("GK, Judo, Vol.9, No.9, June 1965, special section of tributes, last page - pages not numbered) suggests that the Budokwai's debt to Koizumi at times exceeded £400 (estimated at £2000 by Lister, at 1965 values and clearly a good deal more at today's values).
- (59) The Budokwai pamphlet "Judo; What Is It?" is not itself dated, but two contributions to it, letters from E.J. Harrison and W.E. Steers, are dated 20th August 1920 and 24th August 1920 respectively.
- (60) "Judo: What Is It?", op.cit., page 4.
- (61) Ibid., page 5
- (62) Ibid., page 6
- (63) Ibid., page 7
- (64) Ibid., page 7
- (65) Koizumi, op.cit., page 20
- (66) Ibid., page 20
- (67) Ibid., page 20
- (68) Leggett, T.P., "Judo and Display Professionalism",

(68) cont.

Judo, Vol.1, No. 10, July 1957, pages 3-4

(69) Ibid., page 4

(70) Leggett, T.P. "Obituary on G.Koizumi", the Times 20th April 1965, reproduced in the Judo Bulletin (Budokwai) No. 82, July 1965, page 2

(71) See e.g. Harrison, E.J., "Judo Masters of Old: Sakujiro Yokoyama and Kyuzo Mifune", Judo, Vol.1, No. 11, August 1957, page 27

(72) Shortt & Hashimoto express an opinion along similar lines (op.cit., page 54)

(73) E.g. the basic forms of throwing, holding and joint-locking - see Chapter 1.

(74) Koizumi, op.cit., page 17. This development in the Tenjin Shin'yo Ryu may have been influenced by Kodokan Judo.

(75) As stated previously (n.1), the stress in studying the social composition of the Budokwai will be on status. Information on the class composition of the practising group in the Budokwai, in terms of occupational indicators, for example, is limited, while information relevant to an assessment of status is more freely available. Thus, throughout the period under study there are examples of titles and 'decorations', along with military ranks, for example, which in the immediate post-First World War period are likely to have been significant in status terms. Also the addresses of members are significant in terms of socio-economic status. While clearly they would be, in Weberian terms, an important aspect of life-chances (and thus part of the 'class situation') they also reflect life-style and the uses to which financial resources are put, thus being part of the 'status situation'. As is shown, press coverage of the Budokwai (often clearly based on remarks by Koizumi) made reference to status elements (e.g. to 'titled people' being members). Where reference is made to occupations of members, it is through scales of occupational prestige, again depending on a subjective element. One problem here with the use of the general notion of status, as here, is that it does not lend itself easily to scale-formation, for example, (except where occupational indicators are involved, as mentioned above). Given the subjective element in status as such, it may be difficult to categorise status elements easily; in this case the notion of high-status is mainly referred to, with indicators to justify the use of the term, i.e. in terms of what is assumed, in the context

(75)cont.

of the time, to be a typical response, in status evaluation, to such factors as the possession of a title, professional qualifications, living in a particular area etc.

- (76) The Directories yield information relevant to this study in a number of ways. Firstly occupations may be given (for the period 1918-29 occupations are given for nine people for whom such information is not given in the Budokwai Membership Log); secondly an address given in the Log may be listed in a Kelly's Directory in the same surname as that in the Log, although with a different person (different Christian names) listed, for whom an occupation or some other status indicator is given (e.g. title, university degree) - this suggests that, in some cases, a young person is listed in the Log (with the address in the name of a parent or older relative). Thirdly, in some cases, other indicators are given indirectly, for example in additional information about an address (one in the name of a firm or a 'private hotel' for instance). Clearly direct evidence on members' occupations is limited overall and can only be used as an indication of the nature of certain elements in the membership rather than of the overall occupational structure of the membership.
- (77) Two of these have only their names listed in the Log, no address being given.
- (78) The publican's house was situated in Station Road, Barnes, and, while a publican would not be seen as an occupation of particularly high status, the area was perhaps 'suburban lower middle-class' rather than 'working-class'.
- (79) One of these has no address given in the Log.
- (80) One of these has no address given in the Log.
- (81) Of these, three (G.Frecheville, R.Erith and W.Steers) appear to have enrolled on more than one occasion.
- (82) While it may be significant that the period (18 months) immediately following the adoption of Kodokan Judo was characterised by a disappearance of 'titled' people and holders of military rank, there is (as is implicit in the previous discussion of the process of adoption) no particular reason to suggest that the two facts are connected. Further, it is possible to find other periods marked by an absence of such people (e.g. February 1923 to February 1926)
- (83) Marwick, A., "The Deluge: British Society and the FirstWorld War", Macmillan, 1975, page 272

- (84) Mitchell, R. & Deane, P., "Abstract of British Historical Statistics", Cambridge University Press, 1971
- (85) Ibid., page 345
- (86) Reay, op.cit., pages 8-9
- (87) The Dancing Times June 1920
- (88) Programme of the Fourth Annual Budokwai Display (1921) cover.
- (89) Koizumi, quoted by Lister ("GK", op.cit., page 12).
- (90) Harrison, "The Art of Judo: Japanese Physical Culture Explained", op.cit
- (91) Ibid.
- (92) Harrison, "First Lessons in Judo: IV", Health and Strength 31st May 1919
- (93) Ibid.
- (94) Harrison, "The Art of Judo: Japanese Physical Culture Explained", op.cit. There are several other references to the age-range for which Judo was thought suitable in press accounts, e.g. Daily Express 31st July 1920, Daily Star 21st April 1920, Daily Graphic 20th November 1920.
- (95) Steers, W.E., Letter in "Judo: What Is It?", op.cit., page 6
- (96) Ibid.
- (97) Illustrated London News 7th June 1919
- (98) Daily Express 2nd June 1919
- (99) Harrison, "The Art of Judo: Japanese Physical Culture Explained", op.cit.
- (100) The Times, 2nd June 1919
- (101) Illustrated London News 7th June 1919
- (102) Daily Sketch 13th January 1920
- (103) Daily Graphic 13th January 1920
- (104) Daily Mail 16th January 1920. While it is not suggested that people of high status would necessarily have been reading the Daily Mail at this time, this piece is important as a reflection of Koizumi's ideas on Judo which, it is suggested here, would have been attractive to such people.

- (105) Sunday Times 25th January 1920
- (106) Daily Star 21st April 1920
- (107) Ibid.
- (108) Daily Chronicle 17th November 1920
- (109) Harrison, "The Art of Judo: Japanese Physical Culture Explained", op.cit.
- (110) Ibid.
- (111) Daily Express 2nd June 1919
- (112) The Times 2nd June 1919
- (113) The Field 15th May 1920
- (114) Ibid.
- (115) Daily Mail 31st July 1920
- (116) See the Sunday Times 25th January 1920, Daily Star 21st April 1920, Daily Mail 27th April 1920, "Judo: What Is It?", Daily Chronicle 17th November 1920
- (117) Daily Express 2nd June 1919
- (118) Evening Standard 17th January 1920. Very similar phrasing is used in the pieces in the Daily Star 21st April 1920 and the Dancing Times June 1920
- (119) Sunday Times 25th January 1920
- (120) Harrison, "The Art of Judo: Japanese Physical Culture Explained", op.cit.
- (121) Daily Chronicle 17th November 1920
- (122) "Judo: What Is It?", op.cit., page 5
- (123) The Times, 2nd June 1919. Note the 'principles of the Budokwai' quoted in "Judo: What Is It?" (see page 104 in this chapter).
- (124) Evening Standard 17th January 1920
- (125) Daily Chronicle 17th Novemebr 1920
- (126) Ogilvie (op.cit., pages 213-14) suggests that after World War 1, "In social life women successfully asserted their right to a much greater degree of freedom than had previously been accorded them".
- (127) See e.g. Read, "Edwardian England", op.cit., page 217

- (128) Harrison, "The Art of Judo: Japanese Physical Culture Explained", op.cit. A very similar wording occurs in the Daily Express account of the 1919 Budokwai Display (2nd June 1919)
- (129) Daily Graphic 20th November 1920
- (130) This is a point stressed in several tributes to Koizumi on his death. While such tributes are hardly to be taken as truly 'objective' assessments, it is perhaps significant that they stressed 'charm'; some other quality could presumably have been 'found', if necessary, had there been no basis for asserting that he was charming.
- (131) These connections are not claimed to establish definitely that processes of communication took place; the people involved could have been responding individually to an 'external' message.
- (132) While Miss D.May's address is recorded as 64 Chetwynd Road, Dartmouth Park, NW5, and that of Arthur May as 84 Chetwynd Road, this does not seem likely to have been a 'genuine' difference, but more probably a misrecording.
- (133) Leggett, "Obituary on G. Koizumi", op.cit., page 2
- (134) Leggett, T., in conversation with the writer, 1975.
- (135) Leggett, "Obituary on G. Koizumi", op.cit., page 2, Kano. R., "Tribute", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 82, July 1965, page 3
- (136) Again, as will be indicated, commitment in the later 1960s and, particularly in the 1970s, was of a somewhat different character, although still very strong.
- (137) Some support for this idea comes from J.M.Goodger's research (Goodger, J.M., "Judo: A Changing Culture", thesis for submission, for Ph.D., to the University of London, 1981), in material on occupational status and intragenerational mobility among players of different Judo generations. From his second sub-sample (post-war players gaining Dan grade before 1960), 15 out of 17 began work in occupational status category 3 or below (Goldthorpe and Lockwood adaption of the Hall-Jones scale) (Chapter 5, Section 4, Table 2). Players in this sub-sample also had a clear tendency towards upwards social mobility during and after their Judo careers (Chapter 5, Section 4, Table 5) and in addition 15 out of 17 felt that Judo had given rise to different kinds of career opportunity (Chapter 5, Section 4, Table 7). Finally it is interesting that 3 out of 4 people in the first sub-sample (pre-war players) felt that Judo had had no effect on career ideas (ibid.); while this is clearly a very small group, dating from the middle and later 1930s, it does perhaps suggest that the sort of commitment characteristic

- (137) cont.
of the elite group of players in the early post-war period did not exist before World War 2).
- (138) Cox, D. Letter to Judo Magazine, Judo, Vol.17, No. 2, October 1973, page 30
- (139) Koizumi.G., "Equilibrium", Budokwail, Vol.1, No.3, June 1929
- (140) Koizumi, G., "Judo (IV) Tsukuri and Kake" Budokwail, Vol.1, No. 4, July 1929, Koizumi, G., "Judo (IV) Tsukuri and Kake (continued)", Budokwail, Vol1, No. 5, August 1929
- (141) Koizumi, G., "Judo (VI) Shisei (Deportment)", Budokwail, Vol.1, No7, October 1929
- (142) Koizumi, G., "Judo (V) Unity of Action and Hip-work", Budokwail, Vol.1, No. 6, September 1929
- (143) Hopkins, K., "Tribute", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 82, July 1965, page 10
- (144) Kaye, M., "Tribute", Judo, Vol. 9, No. 9, June 1965, special section of tributes, tenth page (pages not numbered)
- (145) See Kaye, M., "Our German Adventure", Budokwail, Vol. 1, No. 9, December 1929, Kamp, E., "The German Adventure" Budokwail, Vol.1, No. 11, February 1930
- (146) I am grateful to J.M.Goodger for information on this point, supplied from his research materials.
- (147) "Judo: What Is It?", (page 4) indicates an age-range from 13 to 65.
- (148) Harrison, E.J., "Stout Fellows I Have Met", Budokwail, Vol. 1, No. 5, August 1929
- (149) See Shortt & Hashimoto, op.cit., page 55 and Judo, Vol. 9, No. 9, June 1965, special section of tributes, fifteenth and sixteenth pages (pages not numbered)
- (150) Robertson, J., "Kotani 9th Dan", Judo, Vol. 21, No. 1, January/February 1979, page 24
- (151) Ibid., page 24

CHAPTER 3

AUTHORITY AND ORGANISATION IN BRITISH JUDO

Having considered the background of Judo in Japanese martial arts and ways and the development of Judo in Britain up to the Second World War, it is now necessary to examine developments since World War 2, although still considering briefly their antecedents in the earlier period. An initial area to be studied is that of the organisational context of Judo activity in Britain, looking at the forms of authority, and the ways in which it has been wielded, which are characteristic of British Judo.

One significant change which can be identified in authority and organisation over the period from 1918 onwards is a shift from a relatively personal form of authority to a more clearly bureaucratic mode of control and organisation. The following points will be examined:

- 1) the nature of personal authority in British Judo, up to the 1950s. Here particular attention will be paid to the ways in which the techniques of Judo provide a strong basis for the exertion of dominance by more expert players over others;
- 2) authority in British Judo in the context of relationships with Japan, up to the present day. Here the initial 'master-pupil' (or disciple) relationship in Judo between Japan and Britain, traceable to the fact that Judo was a Japanese activity, established in Britain by Japanese, has given way to a more competitive relationship, gauged in terms of Judo contests. This has occurred as Japan has lost her predominant place in world Judo competition, while at the same time competitive success has come to be the main criterion of status in world Judo. This change in the nature of the relationship is indicated by changes in the

nature of training visits to Japan by British Judoka, between the 1950s and the 1970s, that is a change from the idea of an individual 'pilgrimage', over several years, with the aim of general Judo development, to that of a shorter, group-based activity with specific aims in terms of developing contest proficiency and involving a less sacred view of Japan;

3) the process of bureaucratisation in British Judo from the 1950s. This process may be seen in the light of the previous point, in the sense that, as British Judo has become more independent of Japanese leadership, in the 1960s and 1970s, so it becomes logical to develop a more independent organisational base which, given an increasingly large-scale activity, is likely to be bureaucratic in nature;

4) two areas of activity, that is grading and the training of 'elite' players, which clearly indicate the nature of the suggested transition in forms of authority and organisation.

Judo Technique as a Basis for Personal Authority

The potential for personal authority and leadership in Judo is considerable, and is firmly based on the technical nature of Judo. The technical efficiency of Judo is related to the wearing of Judo garments ('Judogi') which facilitate the application of powerful throws and holds. From the point of view of the player, the sensations of being thrown, even when defending as hard as possible, and, on occasions, of being thrown so fast that one is literally not aware that it is happening until landing on the mat, give feelings of powerlessness to resist

an apparently irresistible force or of encountering almost 'magical' powers. It is thus not surprising that outstanding players are able to develop great reputations in terms of physical prowess and to wield considerable influence in interpersonal contacts. Beyond specifically physical bases of authority, there may be other factors enhancing the personal influence of the leading player. Particularly in relation to the period from 1945 to, say, the mid 1960s, the fact that many leading players spent prolonged periods training in Japan (as is discussed later in this chapter) added to their 'mystique', through their ability to speak Japanese, for example. It is possible to find examples of players being viewed as 'exceptional', in terms of their technical powers, in the inter-war period. The 'Budokwai', for instance, gives a number of humorous and other references to the powers of Gunji Koizumi and Yukio Tani. Thus Tani's Judo style is referred to as the 'earthquake style' (1), a set of 'famous last words' is quoted as follows:

"I am now about to throw Mr Tani" (2),

and,

"A Mexican is reported to have run a distance of over 60 miles from Mexico City in nine hours. We understand that he got a flying start because he accidentally and unavoidably upset Mr Koizumi, who threw him the first twenty miles of his flight" (3).

In addition, there are two pieces by a Budokwai member who was also a writer, Shaw Desmond, relating to the experience of practising Judo with Tani and with Koizumi and stressing the great skill and effectiveness of their Judo (4).

Finally (in relation to the period before World War 2 , T. Leggett has written of his first lesson at the Budokwai,

given by M.Kaye,

"...my first lesson convinced me that judo did really work" (5).

The capacity of leading players in the period after World War 2 would undoubtedly have been at least as great as that suggested in the above quotations. There are, indeed, numerous references in 'Judo', particularly in the 1950s, to the outstanding ability and performance of such players, often Japanese (6). The reference to Japanese players as examples of outstanding ability is significant, and points to the need to consider authority in British Judo in the context of relationships (in Judo) between Britain and Japan.

Relationships in Judo between Japan and Britain.

Japan can be seen as an important source and symbol, of authority within Britain over much of the period under consideration here. In the inter-war period, as indicated in Chapter 2, relationships between Britain and Japan were very close; the very foundation of Judo in Britain was due to Japanese influence and efforts, directly and indirectly, and close links were maintained, with Jigoro Kano making five visits to England in the inter-war period, for example, (see Chapter 2, page 152). Institutionally, the Budokwai was affiliated to the Kodokan in Tokyo and Dan grades awarded in Britain were ratified by the Kodokan. The nature of the relationship is further elucidated by two references in the 'Budokwai'. Firstly, a date for contests in the Budokwai was chosen so that

"...this important Budokwai event would be held on the same date as that on which the Annual Judo Contests were held in Japan" (7);

secondly a report of Judo events in Japan contains the following;

"The Budokwai must look to its laurels! News has reached us that in connection with the Annual Gradings conducted at the Kodokwan in Tokyo on January 1st, there were two thousand black belts awarded in degrees ranging from Shodan (1st Dan) to 6th Dan. There are indeed some doughty warriors in the Land of the Rising Sun" (8).

Training visits to Japan (which, as will be seen, have been very important since World War 2) only began in 1938 (9); as was argued in Chapter 2 (see page 142) the social composition of the practising group at the Budokwai in the inter-war period and the nature of commitment involved in Judo at the time made such visits unlikely. On the other hand, Japanese instructors were sent to the Budokwai (10), a practice continuing after the Second World War. There was thus in the inter-war period a close relationship between Japan and Britain with Japan providing examples of correct (and impressive) Judo practice, and being clearly regarded as a 'leader' in the world of Judo.

Considerable continuities may be observed between this and that in the early part of the period after 1945. Thus, for instance, the award of Dan grades in Britain up to the mid 1960s was always confirmed by the Kodokan. Secondly, a number of Japanese instructors were sent to Britain, each usually staying for about three or four years. The last of these left in 1966. Thirdly, it was generally assumed that promising British players would go to Japan for training, for a period of several years. On the basis of these three points a 'Japan orientation' may be obtained.

Japanese Judo Instructors in Britain

Connections were maintained in the post-war period through the presence of Japanese instructors in Britain. At least ten such instructors spent time in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s (11), of whom three may be regarded as having been particularly important in terms of their impact on British Judo (that is T.Kawamura, S.Matsushita and K.Watanabe, all of whom were in Britain specifically as instructors and who spent at least two years in Britain in each case). Of these three, the impact of Matsushita and of Watanabe is most fully documented. In each case the impact is in effect anticipated in an introduction of the player, in 'Judo' Magazine. Thus in the case of Matsushita the following introduction is given:

"Already known to readers of the magazine from previous articles covering various championships in Japan, Mr Matsushita will be a tremendous asset to the judoka of this country" (12).

Over the following months there are several references to Matsushita's performances in public demonstrations, in which his ability is clearly stressed. For example:

"It was an amazing experience to see how Matsushita was able to throw with the minimum of effort such a strong opponent as Petherbridge" (13);

the demonstration is subsequently referred to as an 'inspiring' one (14). On another occasion Matsushita's performance is described as follows:

"The highlight of the evening came when Mr Matsushita gave a glittering performance of Judo, in the one-against-ten event, defeating his opponents with the utmost ease, and showing a class of Judo which is rarely seen in this country" (15).

A final indication of the impact of Matsushita is given in the following comment on his acceptance of a post (honorary)

relating to Welsh Judo:

"S.Matsushita, 5th Dan, has accepted the position of Technical Advisor to the Welsh Area of the BJA. What wonderful news! What Kawamura did for Scottish Judo, perhaps Matsushita can do for Wales! It is up to Welsh Clubs to support any arrangement made by the Area Committee with regard to coaching, etc., in Wales " (16).

In the case of Watanabe, there is once again an 'introduction' referring to his qualities, in 'Judo' Magazine:

"Mr Watanabe is one of the best stylists in Japan today, with a wide variety of waza (techniques) " (17);

again:

"From the accounts received concerning Mr Watanabe's style it is felt that British judo will benefit greatly from his stay in this country" (18).

As with Matsushita, there are subsequent references to his public performances, for instance:

"Watanabe indulged in an exquisite display of Judo, which was more allied to ballet than Judo. His command of technique and his control of the opponent, was truly remarkable" (19).

The likely influence of Watanabe is also indicated:

"His ability to alter his attack and direction was quite incredible. Those watching will no doubt be using his techniques in the future, and a wave of 'Watanabe' styles will in the course of time filter throughout the country" (20).

The account of the Budokwai Display in the following year (1963) contains the following reference to Watanabe's ability, in a display against several opponents in succession, to apply on

"...each man a different technique, and each time a different style of reaching the execution date. What a man." (21).

These references clearly suggest that, in addition to the existence of links between Britain and Japan made through the sending of Japanese instructors to this

country, an orientation to Japan can be seen at this time (the late 1950s and early 1960s) in the way in which at least some of these instructors were received in Britain.

The Position of Japan in World Judo

One element in the background to British attitudes to Japan at this time is clearly the fact that, in practical terms, Japanese Judo was superior in effectiveness to that of other countries. Thus the first two World Championships (1956 and 1958) were won by Japanese players, both finalists being Japanese in each case. During the 1950s, it was in effect unthinkable that Japanese players would be beaten by non-Japanese. A comment on the second World Championships illustrates this:

"The interesting thing about these World Championships is not to see who wins (that is a foregone conclusion), but to see how the other nations do in the earlier eliminating rounds" (22);

the subsequent report of the Championships reinforces this impression; for example the account of one contest is prefaced by the following comment:

"The Champion of Japan versus a 2nd Dan!" (23).

On the other hand, contests between Japanese players and such European Judoka as A. Geesink (Holland) and H. Courtine (France) were by no means one-sided, perhaps pointing to the change in the 'balance of power', in Europe's favour, which occurred in the 1960s. Thus Geesink won the 1961 World Championships, which caused a Japanese reaction described as one of

"...tremendous shock" (24).

In this respect it is interesting to consider a broadcast made in August 1960 (on Radio Japan News) by Risei Kano

(Director of the International Judo Federation). Referring to the 1956 and 1958 World Championships, he suggests that

"In the first tournament I told Japanese participants to use their skill rather moderately so as not by any chance to hurt visitors. But in the second tournament I warned Japanese members to be wide awake in their matches with visitors. So much had the skill of foreign judoists developed between the two tournaments. Therefore, as we repeat international tournaments it is not difficult to imagine that the time will come when foreign champions may overpower Japanese experts" (25).

This appears to have been motivated by a sense of diplomacy rather than by a sense of imminent change in the Judo 'balance of power'; in particular the phrase 'the time will come' suggests that such a development was not expected as early as the 1961 Championships. From this point, however, (that is 1961), there was always the possibility of non-Japanese players winning World or Olympic Championships and results fluctuated from Championship to Championship (26). However, until 1972, the five World or Olympic titles won by non-Japanese players were all won by two Dutch players, so that it was not until the 1970s that a more general challenge to Japan could be seen. Opinions expressed by British players about the relative standards of Japan and the rest of the world in general terms, appear to have reflected particular Championship results, or other experiences, at the time. Thus a British player who had spent a period training in Japan referred to the standard of Japanese Judo in the following terms:

"There is no doubt in my mind that the Japanese are years ahead of us " (27).

On the other hand, a report on the 1972 Olympic Games

(in which Japan won only half the titles) suggests two developments in world Judo:

"The first is that Japanese judo has got weaker and the second is that the rest of the world, particularly Europe, has caught up" (28).

Two reports on the 1973 World Championships (at which Japan won all the titles), show different opinions on the balance of power at that time. On the one hand:

"Japan's hold on the supremacy of Judo, partially fractured at the Munich Olympics, was ruthlessly reapplied at the World Championships here "(29);

on the other:

"The Japanese had to fight, really fight for everything they got. Indeed it could be said that although it was a Japanese victory, it was a European triumph" (30).

While differences of personal interpretation could account for this discrepancy, it is clear that attitudes to Japan had, by this time, changed in comparison with the 1950s. As a final illustration, a report of the 1975 World Championships refers to

"...a splintering of Japan's supremacy in world judo just as we had...at the Munich Olympics" (31)

and suggests the establishment of a pattern in world judo:

"...a tremendous tussle between Japan and Russia " (32).

The writer also quotes Charles Palmer, at the time President of the International Judo Federation:

"The Japanese have not got the psychological dominance any more...Now the gap has narrowed with the rest of the world " (33).

While the writer suggests that it was in Palmer's 'political' interest to present a picture of Judo as a sport with genuinely international competition in it, so strengthening its position as an Olympic sport (34), such an impression

could not have been given under the conditions of the 1950s.

Apart from purely practical effectiveness, Japanese Judo was also felt to be superior to that in the rest of the world in terms of its style and its capacity to exemplify 'true' Judo principles. This feeling has been indicated already in references to the quality of visiting Japanese instructors, and in references to the quality of Japanese Judo as an important factor making training trips to Japan worthwhile; it may, however, be further illustrated. An example is given in a reference to three different Japanese players, in 1959. The first player is Kobayashi, a 6th Dan at the time, writer of a book on Judo published in English and an instructor in Portugal:

"On the Saturday afternoon he practised in the main dojo and impressed with the subtle style and effectiveness of his technique" (35).

In the same article there is also a reference to a visit to the Budokwai by two 4th Dan students from Keio University in Tokyo:

"Real judo is so seldom seen in this part of the world that these rare occasions are happily and eagerly anticipated" (36).

It should be noted, however, that opinion within British Judo was not universally 'pro-Japanese' in the late 1950s. This is indicated by what may be termed the 'Orientalism' debate, conducted in the correspondence columns of 'Judo' over a period of six months (September 1958 to February 1959), involving thirteen letters, of which eight may be classified as 'pro-Japanese' and five as 'anti-Japanese' (37). The debate centred on four main points: the relevance and value of a knowledge of Japanese cultural background, the need for a 'practical'

approach to Judo (or not) and the question of whether Japanese Judo had been misunderstood in Britain (leading to an overemphasis on 'mysterious' elements of Judo among British players). While it involves a limited number of expressions of individual opinion, this debate is interesting and informative. In particular, while reinforcing the picture of the 'establishment line' at the time, that is one favourable to Japan, it does indicate that there were people involved in Judo in Britain who felt that a 'British' Judo could, and indeed, should be developed.

The foregoing points on Japanese supremacy in world Judo suggest that this has declined since the 1950s, with other countries providing winners at World and Olympic Championships. However, the degree of Japanese success has fluctuated from event to event, although still being considerable, that is, Japanese competitors have won at least half of the titles in all events at 'world level' in which they have competed, with the sole exception of the 1961 World Championships, when only one title was at stake. Opinions on the superiority of Japanese style and technique were expressed in Britain in the 1950s, being less frequent more recently. However, as is argued in Chapter 4, contest effectiveness has come to be seen as being of predominant importance in Judo over the last twenty years, with references to style being rather less prominent (and with such references not necessarily being made only to Japanese players).

Training Visits to Japan by British Players

The question of the nature and degree of Japanese superiority in world Judo is highly relevant to that of training visits to Japan by British players. Thus a change has occurred in the way in which such visits are arranged, the pattern common in the 1950s, for example, changing by the 1970s. Over the period of the 1950s and 1960s, thirty players undertook individual training visits to Japan (38); in almost all cases the visits lasted three or four years. The number of players undertaking such training visits, often under relatively difficult conditions (39), is in itself an indication of the significance of Japan for British players; in addition there are references stressing the importance of such visits. For example:

"Being the only Judo association in this country recognised by the 'Kodokan', the BJA is fortunate in being able to send promising British Judoka out to Japan to study Judo at first hand from such masters as Teizo Kawamura, 7th Dan" (40).

Again:

"These Judoka are in Japan for the direct purpose of benefiting British Judo, and are studying hard and for long hours to absorb the world's highest teaching in the art. When they return home, British Judo will be greatly enriched by their teachings, and BJA clubs will have the advantage of their instruction" (41).

Finally, referring to the fact that the British Judo Association and the Budokwai bore the cost of such trips, and that any British Judo Association member could have been considered for them, the writer suggests that any such player would have to

"...work hard and appreciate the personal sacrifice in giving up their occupation in this country to travel to Japan for the benefit of improving their Judo. Upon returning to impart their knowledge to the ever increasing number of BJA members, must

have incalculable advantages with far-reaching affects (sic) for the good of the sport" (42).

These quotations indicate what seems to have been the basic character of training visits to Japan in the 1950s and, perhaps, to a lesser extent, in the 1960s. Such trips were undertaken: a) on an individual basis, b) for periods of several years, c) with the purpose of the player's general Judo development, rather than being specifically for the improvement of contest proficiency and d) with the assumption that the player involved would make contributions to British Judo on returning, through teaching, for example. This final point rests to a considerable extent on the fact that the British Judo Association, in the 1950s, supported at least some players financially; in the 1960s it seems to have been the case quite frequently that players were self-supporting, through savings plus, for example, earnings from teaching conversational English while in Japan. In addition, the idea of overall Japanese superiority in Judo at this time is clearly brought out and contributes to the value of the visits.

For the 1960s, two accounts written by players making training visits to Japan are available (43). The first player concerned, Denis Watson, went to Japan in 1965, staying for four years at Tenri University, thus fitting the first two aspects of the pattern outlined above. There is no evidence in his account (44) of any particular approach to the idea of contributing to British Judo on his return, but on the third point there are certain interesting indications. Notably when Watson refers to Judo development he does so in the context of contest activity. There are two clear references of this type. He describes the approach of the

Japanese players as follows:

"To acquire skill they do not consult books, ask their instructor for the 'secret' or retire to the nearest bar. It is done by sheer hard work, there is no getting away from it if you cannot or will not work on the mat then you will not 'make it' in Judo. That is assuming that you are interested in contest Judo " (45).

Secondly, having referred to the amount of running done as training at Tenri, he gives the following opinion:

"I personally feel that a man who is fit can do wonders in a contest, and road work is nearly as important as the Judo in achieving this objective" (46).

This account is interesting in that it indicates continuity with the form of training trip undertaken in the 1950s but suggests something of a change in the objectives of such trips.

The second of the examples from the 1960s involves S.Hoare, whose period of training in Japan was earlier than Watson's (1961-4); however, writing in 1966 about training trips to Japan, he puts forward a quite 'modern' point of view on them. Certainly an emphasis on contest participation can be detected in his account and it leads to some questioning of the second of the four points previously seen as constituting the 1950s approach to training trips, that is the length of a trip. The following quotation shows clearly the interaction of the two points:

"Another point is the length of stay. A long stay of say four years will often coincide with one's best contest years. It is not usually possible to come back aged twenty-eight to thirty and expect to do wonders in the contest world. On top of this a long stay tends to make one forget the European style of fighting" (47).

The reference to the 'European style of fighting' is also significant here as another indication of a more explicit

contest-orientation in Judo, that is Hoare assumes that it is necessary to be aware of the style of European players, to have a chance of defeating them in contest. Certainly the point made about age would be largely irrelevant if the purpose of the trip was general Judo development, with the expectation that the benefits of this would be passed on to others on return, as teaching ability would not be impaired by passing the age of thirty. Hoare's conclusion on the desirable length of trip is as follows:

"A stay of eighteen months, therefore, is ideal" (48);
also:

"Eighteen months is sufficient time in which to get used to the pace and to improve. Short stays of a month or so would be beneficial but unless one is very fit, strong and skilful, about six months is needed to catch up" (49).

This suggestion, made in 1966, must be seen as prophetic, foreseeing the pattern of the 1970s. This pattern emerged, however, in two stages. The first stage may be identified in the early 1970s. In 1971 five players are mentioned, as having spent relatively short training periods in Japan (50). These periods seem to have been between one and two months, although with some variations in the form of the visit in each case. Thus two players, at least (Inman and Craig), were training with the 'Seikijuku' group of Japanese players (this term is translated as 'true feeling', an indication of the dedication involved in its training), Inman spending four weeks in Japan (51). Two other players, (Jacks and Remfry) lived independently in Tokyo, training at the Kodokan (52). These visits were thus not exactly on an individual basis, though not being on the later team or group basis; also they were clearly shorter than those

of the 1950s pattern. The purpose of the trips can be inferred from a number of points. A period of one or two months would probably not contribute greatly to general Judo development, whereas it would be useful for 'topping up' basic training, for the purpose of preparing for a particular contest. There are also one or two other indicators pointing to a clear contest-orientation in these visits. Thus, at one point, Japanese training is praised, not in terms of the overall quality of the 'Judo experience' (as had been the case in the 1950s) but in relation to contest effectiveness:

"After Ludwigshafen (the site of the 1971 World Judo Championships), when the Japanese won every category but one, there can be no doubt of the superiority of their training methods" (53).

Also, some of the sources of finance for some of these players point to a stress on contests. Thus one of the players involved in trips at this time (Parisi) received £550 from the 'Champions Fund', established by the Sportsman's Club in London and another (Jacks) received £550 from the British Olympic Association

"...from a fund of that body for competitors who stand a real chance of medals at Munich" (54).

Various sources of finance, some institutional and some unofficial, are mentioned by Reay (55) and the importance of these is underlined, implicitly at least, by Hughes:

"Two British team members now training in Tokyo are finding that their toughest fight is off the mat - against the Japanese cost of living" (56).

The type of training trip involved here shows an interesting combination of characteristics. It is not exactly on an individual basis, though equally it is clearly not on a true group basis, it is short (two months at most)

and is clearly oriented to contest preparation. In comparison with 1960s examples, however, there is a repetition (at least implicitly) of the idea of repaying an obligation incurred through receipt of financial support. In this case, however, it appears that the repayment may be made through contest success rather than through imparting knowledge; this interpretation is certainly supported by the nature of the two sources of finance quoted above. Visits of the type described above continued during the 1970s (57).

The next development comes with the idea of the true team or group visit. The first such visit is reported early in 1974 (58), lasting exactly one month, with a group of ten people (including the Team Manager). A report on this visit points out the rationale for the group-based type of training:

"We all know of the fantastic patriotic spirit of the Japanese and because of this it so happens that when a reasonably good foreigner is on his own training in Japan, he is a 'target'. There are so many good judomen in Japan, and they all want to have a go at him. The result is that he is overwhelmed" (59).

In addition, there is a reference to the older type of training-trip:

"Of one thing, everybody who was involved is certain, short-three or four week - training sessions in Japan on a group basis, is the style of the seventies. The old method, individuals spending three or four years and very much a 'loner' is out of fashion" (60).

The final point to make about this visit concerns its financial basis. The British Judo Association have received financial sponsorship from a number of sources during the 1970s. The visit in question was supported by Joseph Sanders and Partners, for the expenses of eight of the party, the two others receiving assistance from various

sources, including local authorities, employers, clubs and friends (61). The final comment in the account of the trip, following an expression of thanks to those who had given financial assistance is:

"I am sure we shall all see the benefits pretty soon" (62).

It is suggested here that the 'benefits' here must be taken to refer to contest successes. Such team visits have continued (63).

This discussion of the changing form of training visits to Japan is significant in terms of the general Judo relationships between Britain and Japan. One interpretation which can be put on these changes in form is that they represent a tendency to a different image of Japan, in Judo terms, from the British point of view. Thus in the 1950s the training visit to Japan seems to have been seen almost as a pilgrimage, to a shrine (the Kodokan) to be undertaken individually, for a quite long period, often under difficult conditions. References to learning from Japanese 'masters', to receiving

"...the world's highest teaching in the art" (64) and to a British player having the 'honour' of receiving instruction from a famous Japanese 6th Dan (65) all reinforce the notion of the British player placing himself clearly in the role of 'student', seeking guidance from a teacher. On the other hand, the image of visits in the 1970s is far more that of British players 'using' Japan as a training resource, providing experience which is not qualitatively different from that which could be obtained in Britain. An early indication of this idea comes from Hoare, referring to his experience in Japan in the early 1960s; he recalls

a practice session at the Tokyo Police Instructors' Dojo, with over 150 players of at least 3rd Dan rank practising:

"It is difficult to imagine the atmosphere, spirit and standard of judo provided in such a situation. To duplicate this even on a small scale in Britain would need thirty of the top men in the same dojo training three hours a day six days a week for a period of two or three years. I can't see it happening here" (66).

A similar view is given by Inman:

"Even at The Budokwai there are about half dozen (sic) people who might throw me in a practice. Out in Tokyo there might be 60 in one dojo " (67).

The argument in each case seems to be that Japan provides more of the sort of practice that contest players require than they could have in Britain. This approach would certainly be relevant to the 1970s when Japan tended to win, but not by any means to have a monopoly of success, in international competition. It thus reflects a shift in the Judo 'balance of power' between Japan and the rest of the world, and also reflects the tendency for contest Judo to occupy a relatively more important place in Judo activity than it had previously done. The way in which the form and purpose of training visits to Japan have changed over the post-war period is thus significant in suggesting a change in the view of Japan held within British Judo. This change seems to involve seeing Japanese not so much as 'masters' or 'teachers', with British players as 'students', but rather as opponents, who may be beaten on occasions (68), but who individually have spirit and skill and, because of their numbers, collectively represent an opportunity for fruitful training experience. It is suggested here that the 'balance of power' between Japan and the rest of the world, in terms of contest success, became more equal through

the 1960s and 1970s, although not reaching a state of equality overall. There are also indications of power in administrative terms also moving to non-Japanese in some cases, notably in the appointment of Charles Palmer as President of the International Judo Federation, in 1965 (69).

Taking the question of Judo relationships between Britain and Japan in general, these relationships, up to the 1970s, seem to have been characterised, on the Japanese side, by a view of Britain (and, in all probability, of other countries in whose Judo development Japan was closely involved) as a 'student', with Japan as the 'master' or 'teacher', a view accepted to a considerable extent by those involved in Judo in Britain. This view of the relationships involved seems to reflect the Japanese idea of the 'oyabun'-kobun' ('parent - child') relationship. Nakane refers to this as a

"...relationship between two individuals of upper and lower status" (70)

and sees it as

"...the basis of the structural principle of Japanese society" (71);

she gives the master-disciple relationship as an example (72). It should be pointed out that the analogy fits the Japanese (oyabun) side of the relationship better than it does the British (kobun) side. Thus, while Britain clearly received Judo 'benefits or help' from Japan, which Nakane sees as one essential element in the relationship (73), the idea of readiness (of the kobun)

"...to offer his services whenever the 'oyabun' requires them" (74)

is less easy to identify, unless affiliation to the Kodokan and to Judo as a Japanese 'cultural product' was seen as

sufficient return for Japan. However, the tone of the relationship between Britain and Japan seems to fit that which might be expected between kobun and oyabun. Thus the previously quoted statement by Risei Kano (page 178) suggests 'paternal' care for the welfare of foreign competitors in the 1956 World Championships, while, in presenting an argument against individual championships in Britain, Gleeson refers to the 'immaturity' of the British Judo Movement at the time (1957):

"Due to its 'youth', Judo in Britain is too 'lop-sided' to take on the extra load of championship without the danger of capsizing " (75).

In the case of Judo relationships, it appears that the 'children' (including countries other than Britain) have achieved a considerable degree of independence from their 'parents' over the 1970s, challenging their authority in competitive and administrative quarters. The point made by Risei Kano, that foreign players might at some time 'overpower' Japanese players (see page 178) has thus been proved accurate.

At the present time (1980) the relationships between Japan and the rest of the Judo world have become those of competition rather than of paternalistic leadership. An example is provided by an account of Japanese prospects for the 1980 Olympics (in which Japan did not in fact take part) written by a British Judoka resident in Japan, suggesting that

"At the moment there are few reasons for optimism; in fact a dark cloud of pessimism seems to be hanging over the Japanese Judo world these days" (76).

The basis of this pessimism is given as follows:

"...over the last five years the level of Japanese Judo has remained fairly static, whereas Western Judo, particularly European, has escalated, so much so that nowadays there is little or no disparity in the levels of technical skill" (77),

and finally the ramifications of this state of affairs are suggested:

"Over the past two years the Japanese have had moderate success in top-class international contests. But if they fail to improve upon this trend at Moscow, it will certainly cause shock waves to reverberate throughout Japanese dojos and will instigate radical changes in traditional Japanese methods of Judo training" (78).

While the Japanese absence from the Moscow Olympics prevented this prophecy from being tested, the expression of it is significant as a further indication that Japanese leadership in world Judo had been greatly eroded over the 1970s.

In turn this means that the Judo movement in Britain has become established on a fully independent basis, with links with the International Judo Federation but not with particular dependence on Japan.

Bureaucratisation in British Judo

While, as has been argued here, authority in Judo in Britain has to be looked at (at least in relation to the 1950s and 1960s) in the context of relationships between Britain and Japan, it is now necessary to return to the question of authority involved in the administrative organisation of post-war British Judo. It has been argued up to this point that there is considerable potential for personal authority in the technical basis of Judo, and the changing place of such authority in grading and elite-player training will be examined later in this chapter. At this point, the growth, within British Judo organisation,

of bureaucratic characteristics, will be considered. As an initial guide, Max Weber's account of bureaucratic organisation (79) will be referred to, involving the following major characteristics, in summary: continuous conduct of business; specified spheres of competence; organisation through a hierarchy; existence of rules (technical or normative); separation of staff from ownership of the means of production; recording of acts, decisions and rules in writing (80). In addition, officials are employed in a free contractual relationship, on the basis of technical qualifications, for fixed salaries in money, as the official's sole or primary occupation, with prospects of a 'career' (81). Another point of relevance from Weber's writings is the relationship he suggests between the scale of operation of an area of activity and the development of bureaucratic organisation:

"It is finally superior both in intensive efficiency and in the scope of its operations" (82),

also:

' "...the needs of mass administration make it today completely indispensable" (83).

Finally, Weber refers to bureaucracy meeting a need for stable, calculable administration, a need

"...which is so fateful to any kind of large-scale administration. Only by reversion in every field - political, religious, economic etc - to small-scale organisation would it be possible to any considerable extent to escape its influence" (84).

It may thus be suggested that a significant growth in scale of activity, for example in Judo, might well be accompanied by the development of bureaucratic organisation.

In relation to Judo, 'scale of activity' can most usefully be measured on the following bases:

1. Number of Judo clubs registered with the British Judo Association.
2. Number of individual players licensed by the British Judo Association.
3. Number of individual players of Dan grade (in the BJA).
4. Number of competitions organised during the year.

Official British Judo Association figures are more readily available in relation to numbers of clubs registered with the Association than in relation to numbers of registered individual players. However, there is by no means a full record in either case, the available figures being presented on page 196 . Despite the gaps in the figures, some points may be made about these figures.

1. Club registrations: of particular interest here are increases in numbers of club registrations following years in which particularly significant events took place in International Judo. Thus numbers have risen after Olympic Games (1964, 1972 and 1976) and after the European Championships were held in London (1974) and have maintained a relatively high level over the last three years.
2. Individual membership: the figures here are very limited, but once again there is a considerable rise following 1972, with the figures reaching a peak in 1979.
3. Number of Dan grades: in the period from 1946 to 1956, the total number of players promoted to Dan grade was 46; the figures since 1956 are presented on page 197 , and they indicate a growth in the rate of promotions, in general with, in particular, a quite steady growth in numbers of people of higher Dan grade. The nature of the grading system at different times clearly will affect the rate of promotions; as is discussed later in this chapter, the system was changed

quite radically in 1968, with the effect of making promotion relatively more probable for the individual

TABLE 1

CLUB AND INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE BJA, 1956-79

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Clubs</u>	<u>Senior Members</u>	<u>Junior Members</u>
1956	'About 400'		
1957			
1958			
1959			
1960	358		
1961	355	4000	800
1962	499	7984	2437
1963	417	N/A	N/A
1964	380	N/A	N/A
1965	580	N/A	N/A
1966	625	N/A	N/A
1967	569	N/A	N/A
1968	589	8688	3924
1969	510	8215	4103
1970	509	7766	4947
1971	412	7930	5325
1972	474	8412	2160
1973	626	9997	2621
1974	700	N/A	N/A
1975	993	N/A	N/A
1976	871	N/A	N/A
1977	1045	9604	10644
1978	1014	8984	27407*
1979	901	11348	27645

*The sudden rise in Junior membership is attributable to a BJA decision that all juniors should hold licences to enter gradings or competitions (BJA, "1978 Annual Report", page 5)

TABLE 2

BJA PROMOTIONS TO AND WITHIN DAN GRADE 1956-80

<u>Year</u>	<u>1D</u>	<u>2D</u>	<u>3D</u>	<u>4D</u>	<u>5D</u>	<u>6D</u>	<u>7D</u>	<u>8D</u>
1956	23	2	3	2	-	1	-	-
1957	22	5	1	1	-	-	-	-
1958	17	7	1	1	-	-	-	-
1959	29	9	2	-	-	-	-	-
1960	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1961	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	2	-	-	-
1962	53	12	2	-	-	-	-	1
1963	84	13	4	-	-	-	-	-
1964	100	22	1	4	2	-	-	-
1965	107	25	5	1	-	-	--	-
1966	106	23	2	-	-	-	--	-
1967	119	28	6	-	-	-	-	-
1968	169	14	6	3	1	-	-	-
1969	275	55	9	1	1	-	-	-
1970	197	32	12	1	-	-	-	-
1971	187	63	10	-	-	-	-	-
1972	257	78	19	7	6	1	-	-
1973	179	52	23	2	5	-	-	-
1974	184	58	22	7	3	1	2	-
1975	263	66	21	2	2	1	-	-
1976	270	88	22	6	1	1	-	-
1977	309	70	26	6	6	1	-	-
1978	250	65	7	3	3	1	-	-
1979	219	49	27	5	3	1	-	-
1980*	96	20	3	2	2	2	-	-

* Up to 31st May

entering contests regularly (promotion becoming possible through cumulative points-scoring rather than through success at a particular grading examination) (85). The effect of this change is apparent in a rapid increase in rate of promotions.

4. Number of competitions: up to the mid 1950s the only contests organised at national level in Britain were the selection contests for the British team (to compete in the European Championships); these were very limited in terms of numbers of participants, in 1956 a total of eight players being involved (86), in 1957 'twenty or more' (87), in 1958 sixteen (88) and in 1959 twenty six, which is said to be probably

"...the greatest number of entrants since the inception of these eliminations" (89).

In comparison with these figures, in the 1970s, between 150 and 200 players have taken part each year. In addition, up to the mid 1950s, two contests held during the annual Budokwai Club Display, the Metropolitan Association Challenge Shield and the Baron Matsui Cup, attracted competitors from quite a wide area, although neither of them involved players of high grade. On the other hand, the British Judo Association Diary of Events for 1980 lists twelve domestic events at national level and six major international events abroad for senior and junior, male and female players (90). The elements of junior and women's competitions have become particularly important over the last ten years or so and represent major areas of development over this period. Thus junior events at European level were instituted in 1961, being extended in 1965, while the first World Junior Championships were held

in 1974. While women's Championships were held in Britain from 1966, they were not held in public until 1968, European Women's Championships being inaugurated in 1975.

In general, therefore, it can be asserted that the scale of activity in British Judo has clearly increased over the post-war period, particularly in terms of numbers of Dan grades and the number of competitions held.

Specific Areas of Bureaucratisation

Within the sphere of Judo organisation, a number of significant trends may be identified:

1. The expansion of involvement of full-time officials in the British Judo Association.
2. The increasing specificity of offices and the development of criteria for the filling of offices which are independent of those relating to other areas of activity (for example the idea of coaches, referees and contest officials being qualified other than through the attainment of high grade).
3. The development of a committee structure.

1. Up to 1957 (nine years after the formation of the British Judo Association) there were no full-time officers or employees of the Association, administration being undertaken by voluntary workers. In September 1957 an administrative assistant was appointed (91) and, in April 1958, with the resignation of that assistant and of the previous part-time Registrar, a full-time Secretary/Registrar was appointed (92). In April 1960 a full-time post of National Coach was created, with a grant towards the salary from the Ministry of Education, the post being filled by G.Gleeson (93), while a Coaching Sub-Committee was formed shortly afterwards (94). There was little change in the overall level of establishment over the 1960s (95), but in the early 1970s there were plans for an expansion in the size of staff (96), which was put into

effect, so that there were eight full-time employees in 1978 and ten at present (97). It is clearly significant, from the point of view of bureaucratisation, although it has taken some time for the staff to grow; also, the relatively small scale of full-time staff establishment necessarily limits career prospects within the Association.

2. The notion of 'specified spheres of competence' may be looked at at a number of levels; in relation to Judo it may perhaps best be applied in broad terms, not relating it to duties of full-time staff (the small size of the staff limiting the degree of specialisation) but rather examining the development of areas of activity on a more 'independent' basis over time, comprising a process of differentiation within British Judo. Three areas of activity are involved here, coaching, refereeing and contest administration; the development of coaching is dealt with in Chapter 5 and that of refereeing in Chapter 6. Both these cases, in conjunction with that of contest administration, reflect a general process of diminution in the strength of the assumption, common up to the end of the 1950s, that possession of a high grade and practical Judo ability would automatically give the individual the capacity to coach, referee or administer contests. The third area, contest administration, is the most recent one to develop, only being subject to training and qualification in the 1970s. Two earlier stages in the 'history' of contest administration may be identified, the transition between them being based on the increase in the scale of contest activity during the 1960s. Up to the early 1960s high-grade players (who had retired from contest activity) were closely involved in the administration of British Selection Contests, for

example. The account (in 'Judo' Magazine) of the Selection Contests for 1962, for instance, carries a picture of a group of such players (one 7th Dan, two 6th Dans, one 5th Dan and one 4th Dan) involved in running the contests (98). This was not 'accidental', but was deliberate policy. Some reflection of this idea is given in an interview, in 'Judo' with T.Leggett, in 1972, involving the idea that 'Judo leaders' should, for example, be prepared to undertake 'administrative duties' (99). By 1964, however, with over 100 people entering the Senior Men's Selections (compared with 36 in 1962), there was clearly a need for larger numbers of officials, so that some people outside the 'grade-elite' became involved. The proximity of the Olympic Games may well have been a factor in inducing more entries to selection contests; the influence of the Olympic Games on Judo activity in the 1960s is considered in Chapters 4 and 7. A recollection of this period by a person much concerned with contest-organisation suggests that the approach to such organisation at the time was distinctly amateur:

"I met people like Bryan Perriman, with whom I have worked ever since, who at that time (1964) seemed to be the only one who had any real idea about how...things should be done" (100).

He also refers to a lack of systematic procedures in timekeeping (of contests) and recording the results of contests (101). While he suggests that, over time,

"...things began to take on a pattern" (102), it was not until 1975 that formal qualifications for contest administrators were developed (103), based on 'theory' and 'practice' tests for timekeepers/scorers, contest recorders, senior recorders and competition controllers (104). It is perhaps significant that, of the 23 people listed as having

passed examinations in the above categories (in April 1976, n.103), only one (a woman) had achieved international representation in contest Judo, while no others seem to have been prominent in contests at national level. This point fits the pattern found in coaching (Chapter 5, page 307) and in refereeing (Chapter 6, page 351), that is that the development of these activities as 'independent' areas allowed those without high status in terms of grade and/or contest success to gain status and become more closely involved with 'high-level' Judo.

3. One way of examining the development of specific 'spheres of competence' (if it has occurred) in more strictly administrative terms is to look at the committee structure of the British Judo Association at different times in the post-war period. In relation to the late 1950s it is not really meaningful to speak of a 'committee structure', as there was only one committee (in effect the Executive Committee), along with the 'Technical Board', which, as will be seen, was a very important body. By contrast, in 1979 there were seven sub-committees or 'panels' of the main 'Management Committee' (105), that is the Finance Sub-Committee, the Competitions Sub-Committee, the Complaints and Conduct Sub-Committee, the Refereeing Sub-Committee, the Promotions Panel, the Medical Sub-Committee and the Training Sub-Committee. It is interesting, in the light of arguments arising, in Chapter 4, on approaches to contests in modern Judo, to note the formation of the Complaints and Conduct Sub-Committee. This had been foreseen in the 1978 Annual General Meeting of the British Judo Association, where the idea of a 'Disciplinary Committee' was put forward; the report in 'Judo' of this meeting contains

the following account of part of a speech by the Chairman of the Association:

"Mr Palmer said that with the growth of the sport it had become evident that there could be in the future some disciplinary problems" (106).

The membership of each of the 1979 committees varies in terms of the number of members who may be regarded as having had high status in practical Judo terms. Taking a basic (although somewhat crude) measure, as applied earlier in this chapter, of the number of Great Britain international representatives on each committee, the following pattern emerges:

Management Committee - 3 out of 6; Finance Sub-Committee - 0 out of 4; Competitions Sub-Committee - 0 out of 6; Complaints and Conduct Sub-Committee - 0 out of 4; Refereeing Sub-Committee - 1 out of 7; Promotions Panel - 2 out of 3; Medical Sub-Committee - 1 out of 7; Training Sub-Committee - 4 out of 7. It should be noted that this pattern is very similar to that which can be seen for each year back to 1975, there being no instances of a greater concentration of ex-international players than is found in any of the 1979 committees. The variations here are significant, proven practical competence in Judo clearly being most relevant to questions of training and promotion. The figures demonstrate that there is now a less strong assumption that administrative duties should be undertaken predominantly by those who have had successful 'practical' (i.e. contest) Judo careers, and the expansion of the committee structure has increased the chances of people without such backgrounds achieving positions of administrative importance and thereby being able to contribute to the Judo movement at national level. The Promotions Panel is the body in the present structure which

is closest in function to the Technical Board of the 1950s and 1960s, and it is interesting, as shown above, that two of its three members in 1979 were ex-international players. The composition and operation of the Technical Board are most important as indications of a number of points about Judo organisation in the 1950s and 1960s. The work of the Board is summarised in an article written in 'Judo' in March 1963 (107). One important qualification for membership was the holding of 3rd Dan grade (108), which, as is indicated by the figures on page 197, was a high grade at the time, with relatively few holders. The responsibilities of the Board are listed as: checking and officially examining grade promotions (especially those involving Dan grade); appointing and maintaining a register of Senior Examiners (responsible for actually running examinations for Dan grade promotions); appointing and maintaining a register of referees; selecting team representatives and team managers for international matches; taking responsibility for research and the 'interpretation of technical matters' (109). A later report, on the work of the Board during 1964, indicates that each of the seven members at that time had been an international representative (most of them in the 1950s, when international competitions were less frequent than in the 1970s) (110). The importance of the Technical Board is an indication of the significance attached to participation in administrative matters by those with successful contest-Judo backgrounds. While the comparable body in the modern committee structure (the Promotions Panel) also contains at present a majority of such people, this panel is only one part of a much larger group of committees, and at least one of these, which has

duties previously undertaken by the Technical Board (the Refereeing Sub-Committee) has a very small minority (1 in 7) of such people in its membership. The development of the committee structure of the British Judo Association thus reflects increases in the scale of activity since the 1950s and it marks the process of entry into Judo administration, to a much greater extent than before, of people without strong backgrounds of success in Judo contests. A process of differentiation of roles has occurred in British Judo over the last twenty years, in terms of a more 'specific' committee structure (e.g. duties of the Technical Board now being undertaken by three different sub-committees or panels) and in terms of the development of areas of activity such as coaching, refereeing and contest administration as 'special' and relatively independent areas. In terms of the concept of bureaucracy, however, these developments have had the effect of diminishing the significance of hierarchy, rather than strengthening it. Thus in the 1950s the grade hierarchy (with contest ability closely matching it) was, in effect, extended to other areas of activity in Judo, so that people important in that hierarchy would be important in all areas of activity (e.g. coaching, refereeing); in the present day, however, several hierarchies have emerged, although these are arguably not so clearly structured as that based on grade. Thus, while there are four grades of referee, and four 'grades' in contest-administration, these are limited in comparison with the basic Judo grade-structure and the authority of the higher levels in them does not have the same 'impact' as that which, it has been argued (page 172) applies to practical Judo ability. It is not so easy in the present day as it was

in the 1950s to identify one 'Judo hierarchy' as such, and the strength of hierarchy has, to that extent, diminished, while a process of bureaucratisation has occurred with, for instance, the emergence of more (relatively separate) spheres of competence and the development of more full-time posts within the British Judo Association, replacing volunteers.

Case Studies in Bureaucratisation: 1) Grading Procedures

As previously suggested, one way of indicating the nature of the changes which have occurred in the authority-basis and organisation of British Judo is to examine two particular issues, grading and the training of 'elite' players.

Looking initially at approaches to, and procedures in, grading in the period before the Second World War, some information may be obtained from the 'Budokwai' for the period 1929-30, comparing results in grading contests with subsequent recommendations for promotion. In the grading undertaken in May 1929 (111), there is one case of a player being promoted after losing his two contests and there are two cases of players being promoted after drawing one contest and losing one, while there are two instances of players not being promoted after winning two contests and one of a player not being promoted after winning two contests and drawing one. In the July 1929 grading (112), a player was promoted after drawing one contest with a player of equal grade and losing one contest to a player of one grade higher. Finally, in the grading of April 1930 (113), two novice players, with equal contest success in the grading, that is, in each case, a victory over a player of 4th Kyu grade, were graded quite differently, one being promoted one grade, to 5th Kyu and the other being promoted three grades, to 3rd Kyu. These examples

suggest very strongly that there was no mechanical application of a formula for promotion, based on contest success.

Clearly there was a good deal of discretion to be exercised by the examiner and interpretations of style and attitude, along with evaluations of a player's potential, are likely to have been influential in the grading process.

Such discretion was clearly allowed for in the 1950s; the grading regulations operating in 1952 refer, in terms of the contest element, only to

"...skill and ability in contests " (114), with no specification of requirements, although the techniques to be demonstrated in the 'theory' part of the examination are clearly laid out. The revised syllabus coming into operation on January 1st 1959 was equally concerned to lay down 'theory' requirements, with those relating to contests being left to the discretion of the examiner(s). (115).

Two sets of reminiscences by British players active in the 1950s support the picture of personal discretion (in effect, in this instance, authority) on the part of individual examiners. The first refers to those trying for promotion from 2nd to 3rd Dan (a high grade in the 1950s) being given a 'line-up' (i.e. a series of opponents to be defeated one after the other) of all those above a certain grade who happened to be attending the grading (and seeking promotion themselves) (116), thus allowing for considerable variations in the task facing candidates for this particular promotion at different gradings. The second reminiscence provides a greater amount of information, although being written in a humorous vein, referring, for example, to the almost 'mystical' status enjoyed by those of senior Dan

grade (117). What is of particular interest, however, is the reference to the variability in grading procedures. Talking about the size of 'line-ups' the writer suggests that

"Here again there did not seem to be any laid-down rules. A line-up could range from six to twenty-six and could contain all manner of opponents" (118),

while he also indicates that discretion also applied to interpreting the results of a line-up:

"I can recall Charles Mack defeating completely 16 and 18 man line-ups at three separate (sic) gradings and still not being awarded his 3rd Dan until he was on the boat to Japan. The Panel (the group of examiners) in their wisdom had decreed that though he had won decisively every contest, he had not won with a sufficient measure and range of technique" (119).

Personal observation from the early 1960s and conversation with players active in the 1950s suggests that such discretion was a definite feature of grading at the time and was not limited to only a few cases.

A marked change in the grading system occurred in 1968, however, with the introduction of the 'points record'. Thus, in addition to being able to gain promotion at a specific grading examination, a player could accumulate points by achieving victories over opponents in other tournaments, divided into two groups (120), promotion requiring particular numbers of victories (and thus of points), varying on the basis of age and length of time at the existing grade (121). The conditions for promotion at a specific promotion examination were also altered, being fixed according to a 'mechanical' results formula. Thus a player seeking promotion would have a maximum of three individual contests (122); as it then stated,

"If his results merit it he will then be required to go on to part two a line-up" (123).

While this might suggest that discretion was still possible, in fact the 'merit' in the results was decided on the basis of a 'Results Requirement Chart', laying down that a player had to have at least two victories in his three preliminary contests (124). In a similar way, the conditions for the line-up were laid down in a fixed way, so that the candidate would have a line-up of three people of the same grade (as himself), being required to gain three victories, with at least one full point and two half-points.

Individual discretion in grading has thus been reduced, in two ways. Firstly, within promotion examinations as such, the number of contests and the type of results to be achieved, for promotion, have been fixed in the grading regulations, so that examiners have no discretion in these areas. Secondly, the point-accumulation system means that players may achieve promotion through successful participation in a series of individual championship events, only attending a promotion examination for the 'theory' element of the promotion requirements; in this case discretion is exercised in relation to judging the quality of the candidate's demonstration of technique in the 'theory' section. Grading procedures have thus been bureaucratised over the past twenty years or so, individual discretion or authority on the part of the examiner being reduced and the process being much more strongly bound by fixed regulations.

Case Studies in Bureaucratisation: 2) The Training of Elite Players

The second issue to be examined at this point, that of the training of elite players, provides indications of change similar to those revealed by consideration of grading.

The main institution in such training in the late 1950s and early 1960s was the Budokwai 'Sunday Class' or 'Black Belt Class', run by T.P.Leggett. Two accounts of this class have been produced in 'Judo' Magazine. One, by Leggett himself, refers to his aim in running the classes. Having described how he translated sections of books on Judo by Japanese writers, he goes on:

"The aim was to give them (those attending the class) the standard stuff for when they went back to teach at their own clubs. The main thing was to spread background knowledge of classical Judo" (125).

This provides an interesting parallel with the points made about the purpose of training trips to Japan in the late 1950s (see page 183), where a stress was put on people contributing to British Judo, through teaching, on their return(126). The relative absence of stress on contest preparation suggested by the above quotation (or at least the fact that there were clearly aims involved other than contest preparation) is confirmed by the other account of the 'Sunday Class'. In describing the 'atmosphere' of the class, the writer says:

"First of all there was a complete dedication to judo for its own sake. The next grading or the next European Championships was merely an interlude in the pursuit of good judo performance" (127),

and, while he also refers to the fact that the class included lectures on contest tactics at times, it could hardly be claimed that training specifically for contests was a priority in it. There was some specific contest preparation in the late 1950s, although it appears to have been on a relatively informal basis. One indication of this is provided by the caption to a cover photograph on 'Judo', referring to a group of Great Britain team-members involved

in a 'practice for the Championships' (the European Championships) at the Budokwai (128), but not giving any indication that this preparation was any more than a somewhat more intensive version of routine Judo practice. Returning to the 'Sunday Class', the element of personal authority was clearly strong in it, as it was run specifically by T.P.Leggett and attendance was based on his personal invitation (129).

By contrast, training of elite players in contemporary Judo is far more clearly directed towards preparation for contests (that is, the elite is defined more clearly in terms of contest participation) and is part of a more bureaucratic system. Thus the main institution in such training in the present day is the Squad system. Squads of players, from which teams for international matches and championships are selected were first established in 1965 and now exist at senior and junior levels, for male and female players. A report on Squad training in 1975 gives an indication of its nature (130). At this time Squad training sessions were held during one weekend each month (a reference to Squad training in 1978 indicates a similar frequency at that time (131)). The schedule for the two days of the session reported on indicates that seven and a half hours were devoted to Judo practice and practice-contests, with four hours for other training (for fitness) plus a lecture, in this case on

"...diet and use of fluids in training and competition" (132).

Two other points of significance relating to Squad training, from the point of view of bureaucratic procedures, are firstly

that the Squad each year is selected by a 'mechanical' formula, those finishing in the first four places in each weight-category in the National Selection contests being drafted into the Squad and secondly that the running of the Squad involves keeping records of members in terms of their background in Judo (and other sports), their contest record etc.

Another aspect of contemporary elite training, that is 'talent-scouting', can be traced back to 1969. In a report of the British Individual Championships of 1968, the following idea is put forward:

"Sometime we must develop a live and energetic policy of preparing and finding young prospective players and looking ahead about three or four years " (133).

The foundation of a 'talent scout scheme' is actually reported subsequently, dating from June 1972. Under this scheme each British Judo Association Area was to appoint one or two 'scouts' to look for and recommend 'promising players', to the Director of the scheme (134). A more recent reference to 'talent-scouting', although not within the above scheme, suggests that the two current British Team Managers (David Starbrook and Tony Macconnel)

"...are looking for young players with potential who are prepared to work hard and train, who are prepared to devote all their time and energy to get into a national squad" (135).

The significance of the 'talent scheme' is the involvement of relatively formal procedures, with people appointed (although not on a paid basis) to undertake such duties.

While indications have been given that the training of elite players has been put on a more formal, bureaucratic footing since the 1950s, it could not be claimed that personal

authority has been entirely removed from the present system; Team and Squad Managers play an important part in monitoring the progress of players and selecting teams, as is demonstrated in an interview, published in 'Judo' Magazine with the British Team Manager at the time (1971), R.Ross:

"Two welterweights who have impressed Ross at training sessions are Jeff Hobbs from the Midlands and Lawrinson from Manchester. 'These two are like tigers in training and have a fantastic mental attitude towards training ' " (136).

A further indication is given in a report of the British Team Selections prior to the 1972 Olympic Games:

"Ross promptly named the first two in each class (i.e. weight-category) for the European Championships but plans to delay naming the Olympic team until 'as late as possible', quite rightly in our opinion as it will keep everyone on their toes" (137).

This still indicates discretion and the exercise of personal decision-making but it is set in a more bureaucratic context; for example, as stated previously (see n. 97) the two present Team Managers are full-time employees of the British Judo Association. Changes in the way in which elite players train are thus significant in marking the development of more bureaucratic organisation in British Judo and in reflecting a decline, at least relatively, in the scope and importance of personal authority in this area of activity. In addition, these changes also reflect a shift in British Judo towards a more clear and explicit emphasis on contest preparation and participation, a process examined in Chapter 4.

Summary

In summary, therefore, while Judo gives, in its technical basis, considerable scope for the exercise of personal authority, this form of authority has been reduced

in importance as bureaucratic procedures have increased in importance, a process illustrated in grading and in the training of elite players. In general a process of bureaucratisation has occurred in British Judo, in the sense of a greater degree of 'organisation' in Judo administration, with an increasing number of full-time employees in the British Judo Association, using the procedures of bureaucracy (e.g. rules of procedure, recording in writing) and employed on a bureaucratic basis. In addition, specific spheres of competence have become apparent with the employment of more full-time workers leading to rather more specialised task-areas in administration, with an expansion of the British Judo Association committee structure and with differentiation of general areas of activity in Judo, that is coaching, refereeing and contest-administration. On the other hand, it has been argued that this process of differentiation has reduced the overall impact of 'a hierarchy' in Judo (based on grade and practical Judo ability and reflected in assumed competence in coaching, refereeing and contest-administration), creating a series of more specific hierarchies.

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- (6) For example, Judo, Vol.1, No.2, November 1956, page 12; Vol.1, No. 9, June 1957, pages 12 and 33; Vol.3, No.2, November 1958, page 2; Vol.3, No. 11, August 1959, page 6
- (7) "Report of the Annual Budokwai Contests", Budokwail, Vol.1, No.2, May 1929
- (8) 'The Wanderer', "In and Out Of The Dojo", Budokwail, Vol.1, No.2, May 1929
- (9) T.P.Leggett was the first person to undertake a trip to Japan primarily for the purpose of Judo training; E.J.Harrison and W.E.Steers had practised Judo in Japan before the First World War (see Chapter 2) but were there because of work commitments.
- (10) H.Aida was resident for fifteen months, starting in 1920, and S.Kotani was for three months in 1933.
- (11) The instructors involved were: T.Kawamura, 1953-5; C.Nakanishi, 1954-6 and 1960-3; T.Ono, mid 1950s; Kokubo, late 1950s - early 1960s; M.Watanabe, late 1950s - early 1960s; S.Matsushita, 1958-61; Ishii, 1957, 1958 and 1959; S.Yamada, 1959-66; K.Watanabe, 1962-66; A.Hosaka (based in Manchester) 1962-65. Some of these were not primarily in Britain as instructors - e.g. Nakanishi and Ishii were studying - undertaking some instruction in addition to their other activities. There are references in 'Judo' Magazine to at least ten other Japanese Judoka who visited Britain for short periods, undertaking some instruction, between 1960 and 1967.
- (12) "22 Year Old Japanese 5th Dan Champion to Visit Britain" (writer not named), Judo, Vol.2, No. 9, July 1958, page 30
- (13) Turney, A., "Third British National Judo Championships", Judo, Vol.3, No.2, November 1958, page 30
- (14) Ibid., page 30

- (15) George, B., "Samurai Judo Club (Swansea) News", Judo, Vol.3, No. 4, January 1959, page 29
- (16) Thomas, G., "Welsh Section News", Judo, Vol.3, No. 3, December 1958, page 16 (whole passage in italics)
- (17) "Kisaburo Watanabe" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 6, No. 9, June 1962, page 23
- (18) Ibid., page 23
- (19) Menzies, A., "Budokwai's 45th Annual Display", Judo, Vol.7, No. 3, December 1962, page 43
- (20) Ibid., page 45
- (21) Menzies, A., "Europe's Premier Club Show", Judo, Vol.8, No. 3, December 1963
- (22) Gleeson, G., "Budokwai News", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 3, December 1958, page 10
- (23) Bowen, R., "2nd World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol.3, No. 5, February 1959, page 6
- (24) Nakanishi, C. & Hodgkinson, H.M., (translators), "Japanese Reaction: A Selection of Press Comment", Judo Bulletin, (Budokwai), No. 69, April 1962, pages 2-5. The quotation here is taken from an opening paragraph, prior to the translated Japanese comments, which clearly reflect shock at a European victory.
- (25) Kano, R., "Judo Is Making Headway In The World", Judo, Vol.5, No. 4, January 1961, page 28
- (26) The results from 1961 up to the present day have been as follows, in terms of Japanese success (measured by title-winning) :
- 1964 Olympic Games, Japan won 3 titles out of 4
 - 1965 World Championships, 3 out of 4
 - 1967 World Championships, 5 out of 6
 - 1969 World Championships, 6 out of 6
 - 1971 World Championships, 5 out of 6
 - 1972 Olympic Games , 3 out of 6
 - 1973 World Championships, 6 out of 6
 - 1975 World Championships, 4 out of 6
 - 1976 Olympic Games, 3 out of 6
 - 1977 World Championships, Cancelled
 - 1979 World Championships, 4 out of 8
- (27) Goodbody, J., "Roy Inman Talks About the Training and Talent in Japan", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 7, December 1971, page 6
- (28) Hoare, S., "The 1972 Olympics; A Technical Report", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 4, October 1972, page 7
- (29) Goodbody, J., "World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 1, August/September 1973

- (30) Gleeson, G., "The World Championships", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 3, November 1973, page 21
- (31) Goodbody, J., "World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol.18, No. 9, November/December 1975, page 2
- (32) Ibid., page 2
- (33) Ibid., pages 2-3. This comment is an important indicator of the changing balance of power between Britain and Japan in the 1970s, reflected in part by the fact that Palmer was President of the International Judo Federation. The position of Palmer in British Judo at that time is significant, as Chairman of the British Judo Association throughout the decade of the 1970s; although he was a 'product' of the early post-war period, in Judo terms, he has remained prominent administratively up to the present day, representing a very modern approach to Judo, for example in terms of the involvement of Judo in the Olympics and the idea of non-Japanese players being able to challenge the Japanese in competition. His place in contemporary Judo is explored further in Chapter 7.
- (34) Ibid., page 3
- (35) Gleeson, G., "Budokwai News", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 11, August 1959, page 6
- (36) Ibid., page 6
- (37) There is a clear pattern of the opponents of Orientalism having lower status in the Judo world (in terms of grade and/or positions held in Judo organisations) than those presenting views favourable to Orientalism.
- (38) This figure is not absolutely definite but is fairly certain, particularly from the later 1950s onwards.
- (39) There are some references in 'Judo' Magazine to minor discomforts, such as having to sleep on a Japanese-type bed (Judo, Vol. 1, No. 11, August 1957, page 37) and living under crowded conditions (Judo, Vol.1, No. 12, September 1957, page 14). Anecdotes related to the writer in conversation, by players who have trained in Japan, however, include a reference to three British Judoka having to share one ham sandwich for their lunch, and a reference to one player looking 'like a concentration-camp victim' after several months in training at Tenri University.
- (40) Blackmore, G., (British Judo Association Honorary Secretary and Registrar), "The British Judo Association", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1956, page 14
- (41) Ibid., pages 14-15
- (42) Ibid., page 15
- (43) The other player going to Japan in the 1960s produced an

- (43) cont.
account of his experience, shortly after his arrival, (Cassidy, E., "Letter From the East", Judo, Vol.11, No. 9, June 1967, page 21); this strongly suggests an attachment to the idea of training in Japan as a 'special experience'.
- (44) Watson, D., "Judo Training at Tenri", Judo, Vol. 10, No. 9, June 1966, pages 6-8
- (45) Ibid., page 7
- (46) Ibid., page 8
- (47) Hoare, S., "Is Your Journey Really Necessary?", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 84, January 1966, page 7
- (48) Ibid., page 7
- (49) Ibid., page 8. It is interesting to note that French players had established a pattern of short, group-based training visits during the 1960s (see Duquesnoy, R., "French Judo Federation", Judo, Vol. 11, No. 5, February 1967, page 13), suggesting a more rapid modernisation of this particular practice.
- (50) See Judo, Vol. 15, No. 6, November 1971, page 20 and Vol 15, No. 7, December 1971, page 3
- (51) Goodbody, J., "Roy Inman Talks About the Training and Talent in Japan", op.cit., page 3
- (52) Hughes, M., "It's Tough in Tokyo", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 6, November 1971, page 20
- (53) Ibid., page 20
- (54) Reay, A., Letter to 'Judo' Magazine, Judo, Vol. 15, No. 7, December 1971, page 9
- (55) Ibid., page 9
- (56) Hughes, op.cit., page 20
- (57) For example, in 1974 (Judo, Vol. 17, No. 11, October 1974, page 27) and in 1975 (Judo, Vol. 18, No. 3, April/May 1975, page 15).
- (58) Reay, A., "BJA Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 6, February/March 1974, page 19
- (59) Reay, A., "BJA Newsletter Supplement, Judo, Vol. 17, No. 7, April/May 1974, page 16
- (60) Ibid., page 17. (A very similar sentiment is expressed by D.White - "David White Looks Back at 1974", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 1, January/February 1975, page 32)

- (61) Ibid., page 17
- (62) Ibid., page 17
- (63) For example, in 1976, (Judo, Vol. 19, No. 2, May/June 1976, page 16) and in 1979 (Judo, Vol. 21, No. 1, January/February 1979, pages 15-16)
- (64) Blackmore, "The British Judo Association", op.cit., page 14
- (65) Stanton, R., "Scottish Section News", Judo, Vol. 2, No. 7, May 1958, page 12
- (66) Hoare, "Is Your Journey Really Necessary?", op.cit., page 7
- (67) Goodbody, J., "Roy Inman Talks About The Training and Talent in Japan", op.cit., page 6
- (68) An example of a victory by a British player over a Japanese is that of Keith Remfry over the reigning All-Japan Champion, in the 1971 World Championships
- (69) Palmer was replaced as President of the International Judo Federation in November 1979 by a Japanese, Shigeyoshi Matsumae ('Observer', 2nd November 1979). This appears to be the correct spelling of the name although different 'versions' appeared in different newspapers.
- (70) Nakane, C., "Japanese Society", Panguin, 1973, page 44 (Nakane also covers the same topic in "Human Relations in Japan", Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1972, Chapter 3)
- (71) Nakane, "Japanese Society", op.cit., page 44
- (72) Ibid., page 44
- (73) Ibid., page 44
- (74) Ibid., page 44
- (75) Gleeson, G., "Individual Championships", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 11, August 1957, page 10
- (76) Watson, B.N., "Japanese Judo Before Moscow", Judo, Vol. 21, No. 8, February/March 1980, page 38. The writer is a 4th Dan, who has been in Japan for almost fifteen years.
- (77) Ibid., page 39
- (78) Ibid., page 39
- (79) Weber, M., "Economy and Society", (Edited By G.Roth & C.Wittich), University of California Press, 1978, Vol. 1, pages 218-20

- (80) Ibid., pages 218-9
- (81) Ibid., page 220
- (82) Ibid., page 223
- (83) Ibid., page 223
- (84) Ibid., page 224
- (85) "British Judo Association Official Notes", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 5, February 1968, page 26; "British Judo Association Official Notes", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 6, March 1968, page 11
- (86) "British Judo Association Selection Contests and Display" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 1, No. 2, November 1956, page 13
- (87) "British Team Eliminations" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1957, page 33
- (88) "British Team Eliminations: Preliminary Round" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 2, No. 6, April 1958, page 35; "British Team: Final Selection Contest" (Writer not names), Judo, Vol. 2, No. 7, May 1958, page 37
- (89) "1959 British Team Eliminations" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 3, No. 7, April 1959, page 9
- (90) Judo, Vol. 21, No. 8, February/March 1980, pages 27-30
- (91) "The British Judo Association: Official Notes", Judo, Vol.1, No. 12, September 1957, page 29
- (92) "The British Judo Association: Official Notes", Judo, Vol. 2, No. 8, June 1958, page 25
- (93) "The British Judo Association: Official Notes", Judo, Vol. 4, No. 7, April 1960, page 22
- (94) Gleeson, G., "BJA Coaching Award Scheme", Judo, Vol. 4, No. 10, July 1960, page 13
- (95) Reay, A., "The British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 4, December 1973, page 16. Reay suggests that the BJA Headquarters staff in December 1973 was 'much the same' as it had been in 1961. (Reay was General Secretary of the BJA at this time)
- (96) Ibid., page 16. At this time (December 1973) grant aid from the Sports Council was expected to provide, over two years, five extra Headquarters staff

- (97) The ten are: Chief Executive Officer (formerly the General Secretary post), his/her Private Secretary, Development Officer, Finance Officer, Book-keeper, three clerical staff, two Team Managers. In addition there is a part-time Team Manager (for the British Women's Team). Information supplied by A.Reay (now BJA Development Officer), August 1980.
- (98) Menzies, A., "British Team Selection Contests", Judo, Vol. 6, No. 9, June 1962, page 26
- (99) White, D., "Trevor Leggett Talks to David White", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 2, August 1972, page 16
- (100) Lewis, M., "Martin Lewis Looks Back...", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 4, June 1975, page 31
- (101) Ibid., pages 31-2
- (102) Ibid., page 33
- (103) Reay (Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 1, April 1976, pages 17-18) gives lists of those successful in examinations: 7 Competition Controllers, 13 Competition Recorders and 3 Timekeeper/Scorers. A later list (Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 11, June 1977, pages 18-19) indicates that by that time there were 28 qualified Competition Controllers, 12 Senior Recorders, 49 Competition Recorders and 17 Timekeeper/Scorers. Of these 106 people, there were two Great Britain international representatives (both women), one Welsh international and one Northern Ireland international (both men).
- (104) Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 4, August/September 1976, pages 17-18. The qualification of Competition Controller is based on holding the Senior Recorder qualification and a successful interview with the Competition Sub-Committee.
- (105) Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 21, No. 5, August/September 1979, page 15
- (106) Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 20, No.9, August 1978, page 16
- (107) Kerr, G., "The Technical Board of the British Judo Association", Judo, Vol. 7, No. 6, March 1963, page 6
- (108) Ibid., page 6
- (109) Ibid., page 6
- (110) Maynard, V., "The BJA Technical Board, 1964", Judo, Vol. 9, No. 6, March 1965, page 21

- (111) Contest results and promotion recommendations for this grading are given in the Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1929
- (112) Contest results for this grading are given in the Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1929 and promotion recommendations in the Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 6, September 1929
- (113) Contest results and promotion recommendations for this grading are given in the Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 12, March/May 1930
- (114) Koizumi, G., "My Study of Judo", Foulsham, 1960, page 166
- (115) "British Judo Association Official Notes", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 5, February 1959, page 35
- (116) Maynard, K., "All Right! Everybody Line Up", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 6, March 1969, page 16
- (117) Reay, A., "The Great Line-Ups", Judo, Vol 17, No. 10, September 1974, page 21
- (118) Ibid., page 23
- (119) Ibid., page 24
- (120) "BJA Examinations - Promotion and Coach (Senior Male)" (booklet undated), the British Judo Association, pages 5-6. In 'Group One' Tournaments, of international standing, any points scored contribute to a player's promotion, but in 'Group Two' Tournaments ('domestic' events) points for promotion are only gained by victories against players of equal or higher grade.
- (121) Ibid., page 7
- (122) In 1970 this was changed to stipulate either two or three contests. ("BJA Senior Male Syllabus Operative As From the 1st July 1970", the British Judo Association, 1970, page 4) and this has continued to be the case up to the present.
- (123) "BJA Examinations - Promotion and Coach (Senior Male)", op.cit., page 4
- (124) Ibid., page 5. In 1970 it was established that a player had to obtain at least 17 points (i.e. one full-point and one 'half-point') in the preliminary individual contests ("BJA Senior Male Syllabus Operative As From the 1st July 1970", op.cit., page 4)

- (125) White, "Trevor Leggett Talks to David White", op.cit., page 15. This comment is instructive in pointing to the approach of Leggett. His position in British Judo in the 1950s (which is elaborated in Chapter 7) was clearly of great importance, as is indicated by the existence of the Sunday Class, for example. The quotation from Leggett indicates his attachment to a traditional view of Judo, seeing Japan as the source of 'true' Judo, which in turn is defined in broad terms, involving elements of importance beyond contest activity.
- (126) It appears that people came to the Sunday Class from as far away as Scotland, others coming from the Midlands and East Anglia (see Maynard, K., "The Sunday Class", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 8, May 1969, page 32)
- (127) Ibid., page 32
- (128) Caption (inside front cover) to front cover, Judo, Vol. 1, No. 3, December 1956
- (129) This information was given to the writer in conversation, by players who had attended the Sunday Class.
- (130) The 'Scientific' approach to contest preparation in contemporary Judo, of which Squad training is an important element, is dealt with in Chapter 4.
- (131) Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 20, no. 7, May 1978, page 18
- (132) "Olympic and National Squad Training" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 18, No. 5, July 1975, page 11
- (133) Menzies, A., "1968 British Individual Championships", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 5, February 1969, page 6
- (134) "The British Judo Association Talent Scout Scheme" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 16, No. 2, August 1972, page 4
- (135) "They've Got Their Eyes On You" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 20, No. 2, October/November 1977, page 11
- (136) Hughes, M., "Ray Ross Prophesies Medals for Olympic Judo Men", Judo, Vol. 15, No.7, December 1971. page 11
- (137) Goodbody, J. & Fryer, V., "The Stars Storm Home", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 12, May/June 1972, page 5

CHAPTER 4

TRAINING AND CONTESTS IN BRITISH JUDO

Having examined (in Chapter 3) the organisational context of Judo activity in Britain it is now necessary to look more closely at the nature of that activity and at the ways in which it may have changed in the period since the Second World War. In relation to Judo training, two main themes will be explored, firstly the 'scientific' (1) nature of that training, and the ways in which 'scientific' approaches have been applied to it and secondly the assumed presence or absence of a 'moral' or 'ethical' element in Judo, providing a broad framework into which training fits. In examining contests as a part of Judo activity, consideration will be given to broad approaches to contests in different periods, to attitudes to the importance of winning, to the significance of 'tactics' in contest play and to the impact of the entry of Russia into international Judo competition.

A major process which can be identified is that of a redefinition, in the post-war period, of the 'working content' of Judo, the central focus of Judo activity coming to be contest play, with less emphasis on previously important moral/philosophical concerns. This process has been highlighted, and also accelerated, by the questioning of the boundaries of the moral community of Judo occasioned by the entry into international Judo competition of countries without a background of Kodokan influence, notably Russia. The redefinition of the central content of Judo is also related significantly to the inclusion of Judo in the Olympic Games, bringing Judo more unequivocally into the field of sport; as will be indicated, the entry of Russia into Judo competition may be seen as a response to Judo gaining Olympic status, so that the points indicated here (Judo becoming an Olympic sport

and Russia entering Judo competition) combine to push Judo towards its new emphasis, an emphasis also weakening boundaries between Judo and other sports, as indicated by changes in the direction of the application of science in Judo and by innovations in training methods. As will be shown, a lead in such changes of direction was given by Japan, with Britain following.

Reference has already been made (Chapter 1, page 68) to Kano's 'scientific' approach to Judo technique, based on calculation of the forces involved in Judo attack and defence. It should be noted that the statement given there is a formal one, with an explicit quantitative basis of calculation of the forces involved; in actual Judo practice the calculation would be somewhat different. Thus, while the theory is best demonstrated by quantitative references, a Judo player would hardly be likely actually to have such references in mind while practising, although they would be implicit in the skills developed by a player who successfully followed the principles of Judo. That is, the player would learn to 'feel' resistance and to judge the force needed for the execution of a throw in a way which could, if so desired, be expressed quantitatively in the manner of the statement by Kano. An ability to adjust the force required to the 'effective minimum' in practice would probably only be found in players of high ability, but a good example is provided in an interview in 'Judo' Magazine with T.P.Leggett, referring to a Japanese Judoka (Kazumi Shimaya), before the Second World War:

"His Judo did not look brilliant. It always looked as though the other man was slightly off that day. He had an enormous variety of techniques, all quite natural looking. He would come in (i.e. make an attack) and you would think he had only just managed to throw the man... In the same way, when you practised with him you only just missed. It took me a long time to realise what was happening. It was the 'art that conceals art'. The really skilful man doesn't have to make you miss by a mile. He doesn't have to produce a tremendous throw, he just throws you" (2).

This statement involves a subtle appreciation of what is, in Kano's terms, 'true' Judo, and there is no guarantee that the criteria applied here would have been important to all Judoka at the time. It is, perhaps, interesting, however, that in contemporary accounts of contests, references to the great force with which throws are applied are often made with clear approval and, indeed, respect. To give one example, the foreword to a book written by a highly successful (in contest results) British Judoka of the 1970s, David Starbrook, refers to one of his contests in the 1975 World Championships:

"In the first round, David beat the Korean, after a terrific battle, with the cleanest and hardest throw I have ever seen. The Korean still had double vision an hour afterwards " (3).

While it may be unrealistic, in a modern contest at world level, to expect a player to be able to 'grade' the force of his technique, keeping it to the 'effective minimum' against a strong opponent, the positive weight given here to the force of the throw presents an interesting contrast with Leggett's approach.

Judo as a Scientific Activity: The View of Koizumi

Returning specifically to the question of the scientific basis of Judo technique, the approach laid down by Kano was clearly maintained in that of Gunji Koizumi. This can be seen

initially in some of his writings in the inter-war period; thus in a series of articles on Judo technique in the 'Budokwai', between April 1929 and May 1930, Koizumi makes a number of points reflecting Kano's scientific approach. Two instances may be taken to illustrate Koizumi's approach. In discussing the execution of Judo throwing techniques, based on the breaking of balance, Koizumi refers to the importance of the 'direction of weakness' and of the 'angle of force applied', the latter being required to form an angle larger than 90° with the line of the opponent's body, an angle too large or too small not being effective in turning the opponent's body (4). A second example is given in Koizumi's reference to 'effective application of force', involving a 'door' movement on an opponent's shoulders or hips and a 'crank' movement on his/her elbows or knees (5). It is also relevant here to examine statements by Koizumi, dating from 1960. Firstly,

"Judo may be described as a science for the study of the potential powers of the body and mind, and the way of applying them most effectively in combative activities. Hence it is involved with the study of the laws of gravity, dynamics and mechanics, as related to the function of the human body, and the inter-related order of the physical, mental, emotional and sensual actions and reactions and sustained and diligent training"(6).

Secondly,

"Scientifically, as strength can only be expressed in terms of resistance, without resistance strength is equal to nil, and the effect of strength is limited to the balanced state of the body. The tactics of not resisting against the force applied, according to this natural law, is to neutralize the effect of the force, and to unbalance the opponent " (7).

These examples of Koizumi's writings show that, at the level of the principles of Judo, he felt that Judo had a scientific basis with a clear element of what may be regarded as calculation

in it. It is now necessary to examine the way or ways in which scientific, calculating approaches have been manifested in Judo activity. Evidence relating to the inter-war period not being available, the best starting-point for this examination is Japan from the 1950s onwards. Specifically it will be argued that the approach to training in Japan in the 1950s had clear scientific elements, as part of a traditional approach, that is, following a 'Kano line'.

Scientific Approaches in Post-War Japanese Judo

A source of concentrated information on scientific approaches to Judo in Japan is the Bulletins of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo in the Kodokan in Tokyo, of which three have been published, in 1958, 1963 and 1969.

The first of these Bulletins contains a preface by the then President of the Kodokan, Risei Kano (adopted son of Jigoro Kano, the founder of Judo), which gives a background to scientific approaches to Judo. Thus,

"Professor Kano further attempted to perfect the Judo even from the scientific point of views (sic). Record tells that, in the year of 1891, he referred to Western books of anatomy to make the study of Judo more scientific. It was in order to continue the study of Judo in this line that the Association for the Medical Study of Judo was established in the Kodokan in 1932" (8).

Further information is given relating to this association in the Preface (again by Risei Kano) to the second Bulletin, in 1963. Here the formation of the Association for Medical Study is attributed to Jigoro Kano's wish

"...to explore the safe methods by which Judo could be practiced (sic) by all people without harm regardless of age or sex " (9).

This association was replaced, in 1948, by the Association for the Scientific Study of Judo;

"Thereby the scope of the study was widened to psychological and educational aspects" (10).

Surveying the contents of these Bulletins briefly, a shift in emphasis in them can be detected. Thus the first contains eight articles (11), all but one of them having a 'medical-physiological' focus, the other being a social survey of interest in Judo in Japan. The methods used in these studies suggests their scientific approach, for example the use of X-rays and electro-encephalography (12) and the use of high-speed photographic equipment (13). A 'pure' research emphasis may be detected in a number of the studies in this Bulletin; for example in two studies on the kinetics of Judo. The first is directed towards an investigation of the basis of Judo principles, for example that

"...a person with an inferior physical strength may, with the aid of judo, be able to overcome a person far superior in physical strength" (14),

while the second

"...was made in order to investigate the rationality of the various techniques of judo from the point of view of postural reflex of both the offensive and defensive during a throwing performance" (15).

The second Bulletin contains eleven articles (16), seven being medical-physiological, two general and two on fitness. The last two represent an interesting development compared with the first Bulletin. Two quotations from one of these articles (17) indicate their significance. Firstly,

"The general tendency of the sports world, recently, is to adopt a rational and efficient hard training method based on the principles of anatomy, physiology, psychology, dynamics and other sciences, instead of the old and irrational empirical method " (18).

Secondly,

"With the next Olympic Games near at hand, it is only natural that various sports organisations are frantically training their athletes. The Judo circle is no exception, and in August 1961, the Judo Federation sponsored a one week training camp at the Kodokan. Availing of this opportunity, the Association for the Scientific Studies in Judo conducted a research on the various aspects of physical fitness of expert Judoists with the view of obtaining a proper understanding of their physical capabilities" (19).

Thus the emphasis in this study is marked, in terms of preparation for contents specifically, and it is placed within a broader framework of general sporting preparation. The conclusions of the research reinforce this emphasis:

"From the foregoing analysis it is concluded that the Judoists, although in possession of excellent physique, are not fully exhibiting their potential capabilities, especially in their muscle strength and agility. This is though to be particularly due to the presence of unnecessary subcutaneous fat, and also to lack of rational and efficient training in the development of muscle strength and agility " (20)

Finally, the conclusions of the second study on fitness in the second Bulletin provide further reinforcement of this point:

"Needless to say the object of the present study was to obtain a clear insight into the physical fitness of the Judoists, thereby enabling those concerned to formulate the most effective method of training in order to increase the abilities of the athletes " (21).

The third Bulletin, published in 1969, demonstrates further the trend which was initiated by the two 1963 studies on fitness. Thus, out of thirteen articles in this issue, eight are clearly concerned with aspects of the measurement of fitness among Judoka, with two others relating to analyses of physique and muscular strength (22). There is thus a definite shift in emphasis between the first and third reports of the Association, involving less concern with studies of

Judo technique as such, and considerably more on aspects of physical conditioning for Judo contests in particular (that is the conditioning affects Judo activity in general but the study here is clearly set in a context emphasising conditioning for contests by the initial piece in the 1963 . ' Bulletin).

It is now possible to clarify the idea of scientific approaches to Judo. As has been suggested, on the basis of Kano's thought, Judo can be seen to involve a scientific approach, and Kano's orientation led to the initiation of scientific studies of Judo in the Kodokan. The first group of studies (1958) can be interpreted clearly within the framework of Kano's ideas, notably that of 'maximum efficiency', that is, they contribute to the development of efficient techniques in general, in a way fitting in with Kano's philosophy. However, over the period of the 1960s, particularly because of the Olympic Games, there is a clear indication of a shift towards greater significance of contest activity as such, shown in the greater concern for developing increased efficiency in physical conditioning and contest preparation. Thus it is not so much the presence of scientific approaches in Judo that is an indicator of changes within Judo activity, as the nature of the ends that are served by those scientific approaches.

Scientific Approaches in Post-War British Judo

It is now necessary to examine the application of scientific approaches within post-war British Judo, in the light of the point just made. It may reasonably be assumed that Koizumi's thought, as previously outlined, was an

important element in approaches, in British Judo, to the scientific basis of Judo at the start of the post-war period (his position as National Coach of the British Judo Association and his predominance within the Budokwai make this a reasonable assumption); it is then necessary to examine references to scientific training methods, particularly in terms of the nature of the application of such methods and of the uses to which they are put.

An early reference in 'Judo' Magazine dates from August 1959, relating to the holding of the first National Technical Conference of the British Judo Association:

"Its main intention is to bring developments in other sports on the physiological, physical and psychological plain (sic) to the attention of the judo instructors (black belts). Judo has always considered itself different from other sports and this will be the opportunity to find out if such claims are justified " (23).

It is interesting that the first such conference was not planned until 1959, and the last sentence in the above quotation suggests the presence of a view, among Judo players, which would clearly not encourage such a development. In the seven Conferences for which reports are available, between 1959 and 1966, there are 23 items (24), which may be classified as follows:

TABLE 1

CONTENTS OF NATIONAL TECHNICAL CONFERENCES 1959-66

<u>Category of Item</u>	<u>Number of Examples</u>
Medical/physiological	6
Teaching/coaching	9
Fitness	3
Psychological	1
General Judo	4

Of the 23 items, 11 were presented by Judoka and 12 by people from other sports or from academic life.

The fact that more than half of the items were presented by people not in the Judo movement is important as, in some cases, they put forward ideas which were relatively progressive, in terms of Judo approaches, for example in terms of approaches to fitness (25). There are indications, in reports of early conferences, of an approach fitting what has been identified as the 'Kano line', that is, a concern with general Judo development. For example,

"I think it is true to say that most of us present left deep in thought as to how we could improve our own methods of practice and training in the light of what we had heard this afternoon " (26);

also, in the account of a lecture on the mechanics of human movement:

"In some sports he has proved that orthodox methods are incorrect. To our relief however his illuminating analysis of judo mechanics did not seem to prove us wrong" (27).

In neither case is there any indication of the knowledge received being seen as particularly relevant or useful for contest activity, as opposed to general Judo development.

In the later conferences there is some indication of a shift in emphasis towards more specific concerns of contest activity and success, although this is not marked as the shift noted in the emphasis of Kodokan Bulletin features.

One indication is the presence in the 1964 Conference of an item on 'The Environment of Competitors in Tokyo'

(i.e. at the Olympic Games). Another indication is the

item in the 1965 Conference on 'testing and measuring'

(i.e. fitness testing) which is a reflection of developments

in the second Kodokan Bulletin. Although the lecture on testing and measuring in the 1965 Conference was not given by a Judoka, it is apparent from the report of this Conference that the speaker had applied his methods to testing the fitness of Judoka (28).

The National Technical Conferences are interesting as indications of what may be, in some respects, a transitional phase in the development of British Judo. Thus their very existence (in the form shown in the examples listed) marks a decline, to some extent, in the degree of 'insulation' of Judo from other sports, with signs of interest in knowledge developed in other sports, compared with the period of the 1950s. The content of the earlier meetings suggests a relatively traditional stage, akin to that in the first Kodokan Bulletin, with emphasis on developing skill as such and no particular evidence of special concern with contest training, but in those in the mid 1960s there are indications of some movement towards 'modern' content.

Returning to a more general consideration of 'scientific' aspects of Judo in post-war Britain, a contribution to 'Judo' Magazine, along lines very similar to those of certain contributions to the first Kodokan Bulletin and dating from February 1962, concerns the physiology of strangling techniques (29). The content and approach of this article are clearly in line with the 'traditional' use of scientific knowledge. Thus it deals with the physiology of the arterial system in the neck, as being relevant to strangling. Also it involves a warning that strangleholds should be released immediately the opponent submits or loses consciousness,

"Unless the contests is important e.g. an examination or representative match" (30),

in which case the presence of poeple with knowledge of resuscitation techniques (katsu) is assumed.

It has been suggested that a significant development in the approach to Judo training manifested in the second Kodokan Bulletin could be traced to the introduction of Judo into the Olympic Games (see page 270), with studies on the measurement of physical fitness of Judo players. It is thus interesting to note a reference, in October 1963, to Olympic Training Sessions being held in the Midland Area, during which

"A series of tests and measurements are being conducted at the same time to determine physical fitness indices, with surprising results " (31).

While such developments can be seen during the 1960s it is not surprising to find more traditional approaches still enduring at this time. Thus, for instance, in 1964 a number of articles on 'theoretical aspects of judo' were published in the Budokwai 'Judo Bulletin', written by an engineer who had practised Judo after his retirement (32). The content of these articles was clearly in the tradition of what has been referred to here as 'pure' research, that is the use of knowledge (in this case mechanics) to illuminate aspects of Judo technique, such as 'force' or 'timing', for general interest or general technical development.

A reference to 'testing and measuring', in addition to several which have been noted, previously, in Technical Conferences for example, is found in a 1965 Coaching Conference, involving a technique for testing individuals' fitness within reasonably small spaces (33).

By the 1970s it is reasonable to assert that the

'modern' approach to competition and the use of scientific approaches to training specifically for competition had become established. A number of references to the latter point may be quoted. A particularly important figure in the modern scientific approach is Dr K.Kingsbury, who has occupied a central place in training programmes for British teams over the 1970s. A profile of Dr. Kingsbury, published in January 1973, begins as follows:

"Dr Ken Kingsbury is the remarkable man who has revolutionised the British judo team's approach to contest training and the efficacy of his methods must be gauged by the team's magnificent performance at Munich (the 1972 Olympic Games)" (34).

The clear orientation to contest performance, particularly in major international competitions, in modern Judo, is shown here. Also, in the same article, the 'rationality' of Dr Kingsbury's approach, and the contrast between this and earlier approaches to Judo training, are both brought out:

"The basis of his system is to relate the training as directly as possible to what it is being done for. It sounds obvious but I am sure many top contest men would agree with Olympic Team Manager Ray Ross who says: 'He has made me think back to my contest days when I was a fitness fanatic. I now realise I could have achieved the same results in half the time " (35).

Two articles written later by Dr Kingsbury on problems in the general medical care of Judo players also illustrate the modern approach. The second article, (36) dealing with fitness, includes material on training approaches devised to attain optimum fitness before championships, on diet, on 'energy drinks', on 'event care' (medical attention for competitors during contests } and on 'contest exhaustion' (37). It is clear that, underlying the approach in this

article, there are assumptions that contest activity, relating to specific championships, is a major, and probably the central, activity for Judo players. Thus the section on diet involves a good deal of consideration of the process of adjusting the bodyweight to meet the requirements of weight-categories (38), while that on 'energy drinks' is also clearly relevant to the demands of championship events, where the need to recover rapidly from fatigue is clearly important (39). In the same way, 'event care' and contest exhaustion are both topics which will become significant if there is a strong 'contest-orientation' within Judo.

The Weight-Training Issue in Post-War British Judo

One important issue in Judo training is the question of how a balance should be struck between training 'on the mat' (training in the form of Judo practice itself, along with any exercises done in Judogi on the Judo mat) and training 'off the mat' (that is general physical training techniques, as might be used in other sports). In the latter category running and weight-training are important examples, and approaches to weight-training in particular have been documented over more than twenty years, providing a useful guide to changes in approach to Judo training more generally.

Weight-training as a means of increasing strength and so improving performance in a range of sports is a relatively recent phenomenon, not having been at all common until after the Second World War (40). Attitudes to the use of weight-training for Judo, and changes in them, may be studied through articles in 'Judo' Magazine and through references in books on Judo (41). References in 'Judo'

Magazine to weight-training (42) have been taken over the period 1957 to 1975, while two groups of books have been studied (43). Of the 20 references in journals (17 in 'Judo' Magazine and 3 in the Budokwai 'Judo Bulletin') (44), six may be taken as representing opposition to the use of weight-training by Judoka, all of these being written before 1964(45), while the rest support the use of weight-training, at least implicitly indicating acceptance (46).

Taking the books considered here, in the first group of six (47) (representing the period of the late 1950s and early 1960s), there is no reference to weight-training as such in four (48). Of the other two, Nakanishi (49) merely states that

"Exercises can be used to develop and strengthen the body but here the aim is not mere muscle power but strength accompanied by suppleness. Simple apparatus and weights may be used in this type of training " (50),

which hardly represents a strong presentation of the case for weight-training, while the final reference (51) is the one example in this group of books of a strong and lengthy argument on behalf of the use of weights. In the first part of the book, on principles of training, Draeger refers to the necessity of physical strength (properly applied) for the Judoka and justifies his view by reference to Jigoro Kano's writings. For example, he quotes Kano to the effect that, under certain circumstances, it is justifiable to use strength against strength, rather than applying the 'principle of non-resistance' (52). Draeger later devotes a chapter to 'Judo and Weight-Training' again justifying it in terms of the principles of Kodokan Judo. His conclusion is that

"'There is no disjuncture between weight exercise and Kodokan Judo' and it can be seen readily that by accepting weight training methods in the normal Judo training routine, we are not going contrary to the teachings of Dr Kano " (53).

Of the second group of six books (54), all contain references which support the idea of weight-training. Some themes relating to the use of weights which emerge from these books are considered below.

Taking the journal and book references cited above, it is possible to chart movements of opinion relating to the use of weight-training by Judoka. What may be termed the 'traditional' view on Judo training (represented by the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo' and Koizumi's 'My Study of Judo') is, in effect, that weight-training was not a relevant aspect of Judo training (55), although, as Draeger suggests (see page 239) it may be justifiable in terms of Kodokan Judo theory. A possibly extreme variant of the traditional approach, as interpreted in Britain, is reported by Gleeson, writing about the late 1940s:

"I can still remember in my very early days of training at the Budokai (sic) Judo Club, being threatened with expulsion, if I continued to 'strength train' (it is most unlikely that this involved weight-training as such) every evening. I was told, in no uncertain terms, that strength and all it stood for was anathema to the spirit and purpose of judo" (56).

He also suggests that this approach was based on a failure to differentiate between 'necessary' strength and 'unnecessary' strength (i.e. the latter being that irrelevant to the use of skill, which is the sort of strength, or use of strength, opposed by Kano) (57).

Taking references from the late 1950s and early 1960s, opposition in Britain to the use of weight-training can be seen, on grounds of adverse physical effects (58),

adverse effects on skill (59), the use of 'dead' weight (60), which is not thought to be relevant to Judo (61), and the possible 'unbalancing' of a player's training programme (with the possibility of greater risk of injury) (62). On the other hand, at the same time there were 'evangelising' forces at work in Japan, supporting the use of weight-training (63). It is clear from journal and book references that weight-training had, by the 1970s, become a 'taken for granted' aspect of Judo training (especially for those with contest aspirations). There are, however, certain issues relating to its use, which have recurred in recent accounts. One is the relevance of weight-training to the existence of weight-categories in contest Judo; this is significant in relation to the contest-orientation of contemporary Judo, discussed later in this chapter. The second theme relates to the stage of the player's career at which weight-training should be introduced into training, and there is clear support (64) for the idea that weight-training should not be started before the attainment of Dan grade, so that a firm skill-base is initially established and the danger of over-reliance on strength early in the process of skill development is avoided. While weight-training is clearly held to be of importance to modern players, it is felt to be necessary to 'keep it in its place' to an extent, thus attaining the best outcome in terms of overall Judo performance. It will be useful here to examine two statements relating to the effects of increasing strength (gained through the use of weight-training, for example) on the condition of an existing Judo skill. Thus one of the contributors to the 1959 National Technical Conference (65) refers to the problem of having to 're-learn' a skill

adversely affected by an alteration of 'muscle-balance' occasioned by 'deliberate muscle-building', an approach which suggests that weight-training is not desirable. On the other hand, Gleeson, writing in 1975 (66), while recognising that such a problem may exist, does not see it as an argument against weight-training, rather arguing that the development of strength and that of skill should be seen in conjunction with each other:

"In brief, strength and stamina should be seen as a part of the whole skill, not as something separate from it " (67).

This suggests strongly that, by this time, weight-training had become accepted as an activity, so that arguments were found to answer what had earlier been seen as 'obstacles' to its use.

The third issue is that of the extent to which weight-training exercises should be 'tailored' to the specific physical requirements of Judo. This is an issue which has been found important in the 1970s and references in that period indicate a range of approaches. Thus, at one 'extreme' there is the argument that weight-training is simply used to increase strength which is then applied in Judo (68); at the other it is argued that weight-training exercises should be applied specifically to meet the requirements of Judo movement (69). Between these possibilities is the position adopted by Starbrook and by Hoare (70), that weight-training should reflect Judo requirements in more general terms, in terms of the broad physical qualities relevant to Judo and of the individual's pattern of techniques. The points made here are similar to those made in relation to the second theme in that, in both cases, the main emphasis is on how weight-training

should be applied in order to gain the greatest benefit for Judo performance (i.e. its contribution to a final performance 'on the mat').

The importance of examining approaches to the use of weight-training as an aspect of Judo training is that such approaches can indicate shifts of opinion on certain basic issues in Judo training generally. Thus in particular they indicate changes in the way in which 'scientific training' is seen in Judo; secondly they reflect a point made earlier (page 232) in examining the Bulletins of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo (of the Kodokan) that is the growth of a 'contest orientation' in Judo, which is examined in more detail later in this chapter, and thirdly they reflect shifts in what are seen as the 'boundaries' within which Judo should operate and its relationships with other sports (see also Chapter 5), thus reflecting a reduction in the insulation of Judo from outside sport influences. In relation to the second of these points, it is interesting that shifts in opinion on the value of weight-training can be traced back to the early 1960s, as can changes in the content of the Kodokan 'Bulletins'; in both instances, Japanese Judo was concerned with the innovations a few years before British Judo. In the case of the latter change, the influence of the Olympic Games is seen as being an important influence; this is a point elaborated in Chapter 7.

Moral/Philosophical Elements in Judo: The Message of Jigoro Kano

The second major element in Judo training, which may be put alongside a scientific approach, on the basis of Kano's writings, is the assumed presence of 'ethical', 'philosophical'

or 'mental' significance in Judo, Reference has already been made to Kano's principle of 'Jita Kyoei' ('Mutual Welfare and Benefit') (see Chapter 1, pages 65-6) and to his distinction between 'kyogi' Judo ('Judo in the narrow sense) and 'kogi' Judo ('Judo in the wide sense') (see Chapter 1, page 69); both of these references reflect Kano's view that Judo has moral significance for life in general. The seriousness of Kano's approach to the moral requirements of Judo as he saw it may be illustrated by a story about Kano, related by Umetsu (71). Kano had occasion to reprimand a member of the Kodokan (Sugata), who had defended himself against four attackers in the street, but who had also resisted the police, an act,

"...not in accordance with the principle of Kodokan Judo " (72).

During the conversation between Kano and Sugata, which took place in the yard of the Kodokan, in which there was a pond, the following exchange occurred:

"Kano - 'That is the judo - live or die according to the truth of universe (sic). Judo is to know how to be at ease facing death and how to realise the value of life. Sugata, your judo is not the judo in the true sense'. Sugata, with rage, 'Professor, I can die right now if you order me to! ' 'You are lying! ' Kano's voice thundered. 'Sugata, can you jump in the pond and die?'. Sugata, 'Yes I can! ' With the words, Sugata jumped in the pond. He could not die, and he was too ashamed to climb out of the pond. He stayed all night in the muddy and deep pond clinging to a rotten post " (73).

This in part reflects the traditional idea of Japanese martial arts, associated with Samurai ideals, of being prepared to face death calmly (see Chapter 1, page 37); in the context of Kodokan Judo the main point of importance is the assumption by Kano that Judo had fundamental, 'life-forming' or 'life-altering' significance, with commitment to a clear set of values.

Moral/Philosophical Elements in Judo: The View of Gunji Koizumi

Turning to Gunji Koizumi's thought, it shows considerable similarity to that of Kano. This is to be expected as Koizumi adopted Kodokan Judo after 1920 (see Chapter 2, pages 102-4); his own view of this adoption is as follows:

"I was influenced to take this step by the fact that the Kodokan was founded as an ethical institution, free from financial interests, with the object of facilitating the study and practice of Judo as a means of physical, mental and ethical training, elevating Judo as a scientific and ever progressive subject on the principle of maximum efficiency and minimum effort " (74),

an account which suggests strongly that Koizumi was aware of the moral significance of Kodokan Judo from this time.

In his major written statement on Judo (75), Koizumi outlines his view of Judo from moral viewpoint, looking from three angles. Thus the 'ultimate objective' of Judo is

"...to serve the cause of life which is propelled by the power of the natural urges, its course is steered by the law of cause and effect, which governs the mental, physical, emotional and sensual actions and reactions, towards the destination, the state of happiness and contentment, which rests on the principle of balanced unity of the opposites or dual factors of universe, endowed with continuity and progress" (76).

Secondly, the 'essence' of Judo is

"...to harmonize our movements with the rhythm of the 'stream' (of cosmic life) " (77).

Thirdly, the 'principle' of Judo is 'balance', which is related to the process of

"...promoting human maturity" (78),

as opposed to involvement with a 'business institution' for example. Two further references also help to illustrate Koizumi's fundamental approach to Judo. Firstly he suggests that

"The mental habit or attitude cultivated by Judo training will have a far-reaching effect on man's life. For he will see all things, including himself, through glasses focused on a balance perspective of objective and subjective or introvert and extrovert points of view " (79) ;

secondly he refers to the principles of Judo which, if correctly applied,

"...can be a valuable contribution in promoting a new era of the conditions of life desired by man and God" (80).

The above references clearly indicate that for Koizumi there were certain fundamental values of an 'absolute' nature, attaching to Judo; references to serving the 'cause of life', harmonising with the 'stream of cosmic life', 'promoting human maturity', and to the far-reaching effects which Judo practice can have on individuals' lives and on the promotion of, in effect, Utopia, show a basic ethical element in terms of values towards which activity is to be directed. The point is further reinforced by what may be termed as a 'negative' illustration. Thus Koizumi refers to what may be objectives for some Judo players, but which are seen as being superficial and not the real objectives of Judo. For example,

"The grades, the glamour of the Championship may be used as the means of elementary encouragement, but they are not the objectives of the true Judoka " (81);

again:

"To the impatient or to those who are inspired by ulterior motives progress in Judo appears to be slow " (82),

the 'slowness' of progress being seen positively, difficulties being

"...stimulants to human interest and effort, and ...means of progress and developing the faculties" (83).

However the slowness of progress may provide openings for exploitation by 'charlatans':

"By their tricks and cunning the uninitiated are often enticed into their parlour to be persuaded to part with their cash for promise of quick progress and decorative diplomas " (84).

Here references to grades and to championship success, and even more to 'quick progress' of an unsatisfactory nature, suggest that there are aims of a relatively specific, short-term type which may be followed by Judo players but which do not have the same moral worth as the deeper and longer-term aims, representing fundamental values, previously outlined.

Moral/Philosophical Elements in Post-War British Judo

As with the issue of weight-training, any changes in the assumed value or ethical significance of Judo over the post-war period will be examined by taking relevant journal references over the period from 1957 to date and by examining the two groups of books to which reference has been made.

Sixteen relevant journal references are available (12 in 'Judo' Magazine and 4 in the Budokwai 'Judo Bulletin'), of which six (85) written by Koizumi, will not be considered here, as they do not add any points to the account referred to already, in his book (see page 245). Of the ten remaining articles, four (86) may be seen as putting forward the idea of Judo having 'lessons for life', one (87) is specifically concerned with values within Judo practice, one (88) with the relevance of philosophy (notably Zen Buddhism) to Judo and one (89) with the relevance of 'the occult' to Judo. Of the other three, two (90) are retrospective, suggesting that a philosophy and code of morality existed in Judo in the late

1950s but that it declined over the 1960s, while the final article (91) involves consideration of different possible approaches to Judo, involving for example 'philosophical' or 'sport' emphases.

In the first group of books, two (92) make no reference to 'philosophy', each having an emphasis on competitive Judo (although there is no evidence in either of them of any denial of the relevance of philosophical aspects). Of the two books which most clearly represent 'traditional' approaches to Judo, the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo' deals with 'Judo philosophy' exclusively in terms of Kano's thought, as already considered (see page 244), while attention has also been given to Koizumi's thought (see page 246). Of the other two books in this group, that by Ishikawa and Draeger has a clear competition-emphasis, with two 'nominal' references (93). Nakanishi (94), however, gives rather more attention to moral/philosophical aspects of Judo, in terms of character-training (95), links with Zen (96) and the mental benefits of Judo (97).

Of the six books in the second group, only one (98) makes no reference to moral/philosophical aspects; while it might be thought surprising that five out of the six make some such reference, it is the way in which the references are made which is significant. Thus all but one of those referring to morality (99) point to a stress in modern Judo on competition (a 'sport' emphasis is identified), with moral/philosophical attachments being weakened (although still being valid) or being seen as options for individuals who might wish to stress them.

These references (journal and book) suggest that changes have taken place in the significance (and even the presence) of ethical or philosophical elements in Judo. Taking those references up to the early 1960s (e.g. up to Nakanishi's book, published in 1963) (100), in some cases they state a clear 'Kano line' or the very closely associated 'Koizumi line'. These approaches stress that Judo is something beyond a physical activity of a sport type, having a fundamental moral position and involving a strong commitment to values which are assumed to have an effect (a beneficial one) on the Judoka's life outside Judo practice. Other references from this period follow this line of argument, sometimes stressing Judo's lessons for life and sometimes the unusual powers which may be associated with prolonged study of Judo. The journal references from 1969 onwards in some cases repeat the idea that Judo is characterised by such values or commitment, in others suggesting that these aspects have declined in importance. The book references from the 1970s and the final journal reference from 1976 also tend to suggest that such moral/philosophical aspects are characteristic of Judo, but at the same time also indicate, more or less explicitly in different cases, that Judo has in fact moved towards a narrower, contest-based, emphasis. It should be noted that Kano allowed for different approaches to Judo, making the distinction between 'kyogi' and 'kogi' Judo (see Chapter 1, page 69); it seems that, in the period after the Second World War the former option has been taken up, with 'Judo in the wide sense' gradually declining. The clearest statements of the 'dual' position are those by Hoare (101) and White (102), the former referring to 'traditional' and

'modern' Judo and the latter to 'art' and 'sport' as the alternatives in present-day Judo (although it is hard to see that the 'traditional' art approach is found to any extent in contemporary Judo).

Some other evidence on the changes indicated by the above references is provided by J.M.Goodger's study (103)*. While this does not show decisive differences between the 1960s and the 1970s (broadly speaking) on the question of whether Judo is 'different from other sports' (104), it does suggest differences in terms of people being influenced by Judo to read philosophy, for example (105), this being a reasonable example of the 'life-forming' effect of Judo suggested for the 1950s.

A conclusion on the place of such 'special' moral/philosophical aspects of Judo is that, while it was claimed up to the early 1960s that they were an intrinsic part of Judo activity, in the 1970s their presence is highly questionable, any claims to the effect that they are still present being made in books which otherwise have a strong emphasis on competitive Judo and preparation for it (106), or as part of a dual scheme also allowing for a version of Judo without such aspects. Taken in conjunction with the trends previously noted in the uses to which scientific approaches are put in Judo training, and with the particular movements in attitudes to the use of weight-training by Judoka, the above analysis points to an increasing significance of contests in modern Judo and it is now necessary to examine in some detail views on the place of contests in Judo activity over the period from the 1920s to the present day.

*This study involves detailed coverage of a number of issues relating to foci in Judo training, particularly since World War 2.

The Place of Contests in Judo: The Views of Kano and Koizumi

As a background to this, Jigoro Kano's approach to contests may be briefly outlined. As Draeger (107) indicates, the development of contest skill was one aspect of 'kyogi' ('narrow') Judo as defined by Kano, but it was to be kept in perspective:

"I did not attach exclusive importance to the contest side of training...but aimed at a combination of contest exercises and training of mind and body " (108),

adding that a study of kata (see Chapter 1, pages 47 and 59) was necessary to broaden the study of Judo (109).

Turning to Britain, the position on contests adopted by Koizumi may be elaborated here, taking initially his views expressed in 1929. Koizumi's statement, appearing in the 'Budokwai', was in fact a response within a debate on contests which started with a piece written under the name 'Nonbello'. The views expressed in the original piece are basically against contests as such. Thus contests are seen as marring an otherwise 'ideal' activity, and are not thought to provide any advantage in comparison with free practice. The argument that players should develop 'contest spirit' is rejected:

"The question of courage, physical, mental or moral, assumes no greater significance under contest conditions than it does during ordinary dojo practice" (110),

and 'pot-hunting' is rejected as being contrary to 'Judo ethics'. Finally, Nonbello's assertion is that contests do not 'prove' anything, results depending less on skill than on

"...the degree of showmanship and ability to conquer stage-fright displayed by the contestants " (111),

and that

"Judo is a philosophy - a way of life, and the game of life is not to win, but to play a bad hand well " (112).

The initial response to this argument is given by the Honorary Secretary of the Budokwai, H.A.Tricker. He suggests that Judo is practised for the sake of contests, that contest participation develops fighting spirit and coolness, that the loser can learn from defeat, and finally that contests make it possible for instructors to gauge students' progress (113). A fuller response then comes from Koizumi, listing five points made by Nonbello and replying to each of them. Summarising these responses, the following picture of the place of contests, as seen by Koizumi at this time, emerges. Contests are seen as a means of trying skill gained through practice, and of developing the 'combat mentality'; rivalry in contests serves to develop mental and physical 'alacrity'; combat mentality includes the ability to conquer 'stage-fright', an ability required for ultimate efficiency; Judo is not 'the end' but a means of cultivating the strength of character needed to manifest the ideal of life, the ability to win a fight being a condition of 'stopping fighting' (114). A second example of Koizumi's thought, also expressed at this time, comes in an account of contests at the thirteenth Budokwai Display, where adoption of a defensive posture by a player is said to result in

"...loss in the value of the contest as a part of training " (115).

It is interesting to compare these points with the reference by Koizumi dating from 1960. Having referred to contest ('Shiai') as a

"...means of testing the skill students have attained " (116),

with an additional element of accustoming players to controlling nerves, he goes on to add this comment:

"During recent years, however, in the process of stimulating young enthusiasm and sporting instincts, SHIAI has been drawn into the arena of sports and games, with an introduction of championships, causing some changes in attitudes towards SHIAI and techniques which cannot be said to contribute towards the advancement of the Judo movement, if it is to be judged according to its fundamental objective and principle " (117).

The first quotation here clearly reflects Koizumi's thought of the 1920s, while the second adds an element taken to be specific of the post-war period.

Views on The Place of Contests in Post-War British Judo

Examples of views on contests for the post-war period will once again be sought by looking at journal and book references. Journal references containing direct expressions of opinion on this matter are very few in the period of the late 1950s and early 1960s; there are, however, recent references from which views on the place of contests can readily be inferred. The two references which relate to the late 1950s and early 1960s and which contain an opinion on the general place of contests in Judo both reinforce the picture derived from Kano and Koizumi. The first, dating from 1962 (118), contains a direct expression of such an opinion:

"Success in contests is not the end aim (sic) of judo practice and contests are merely one of the methods of training" (119).

The second involves a retrospective consideration of training conditions in the late 1950s in the Budokwai 'Sunday Class' (see Chapter 3, page 210) and contains the following passage which again clearly shows a view of the place of contests at the time:

"First of all there was a complete dedication to judo for its own sake. The next grading or the next European Championships was merely an interlude in the pursuit of good judo performance" (120).

There are five journal references which make points relevant to the place of contests in Judo activity even if not containing direct expressions of opinion on the matter.

It is interesting that the first of them was by the writer of the article referred to immediately above, appearing a few months before the above, and it gives an impression of the way in which conditions had changed over the 1960s. Thus, for example, he states that

"In the Northern Home Counties Area we have, for several years, organised training sessions with the specific purpose of improving contest performance" (121).

The second reference, from April 1972 (122) comes from the first of a series of articles on throwing techniques which have a record of scoring points most frequently in contests; the whole approach of this article is that it is necessary to study techniques which are likely to score effectively in contest. For example,

"The conclusion that I have drawn and put into operation at the Budokwai is that one would do well to stick to the high-scoring throws" (123).

One can infer from this assumption that contests are a most important aspect of Judo activity, towards which effort should be directed in training; it would be perfectly possible to explore the Judo principle of 'maximum efficiency' ('seiryoku-zenyo') without concentrating on techniques which are most successful in contest terms.

An interview in 'Judo' Magazine with two British Team Squad Managers (124) indicates the way in which, in the 1970s,

contests have become the focus of training. Thus they refer to the problems of preparing Judoka to fight a number of contests in one day in a Championship, often with very limited time for recovery (125), adding that free practice (randori) has been shown not to produce the same physical stress as contest (in terms of maximum pulse rate) (126), so that extra training, specific to the requirements of contest, is needed.

In the fourth reference there is a statement which to an extent, reflects the 'traditional' line on contests, to the extent at least, that the requirements of contests do not dominate all aspects of practice. Referring to free practice, the writer (127) suggests that in free practice he is not concerned either with 'defeating' his practice partner or with being thrown; that is,

"...I leave contest judo for contests, and during the majority of my practising time, I concentrate on developing good judo through big attacking movement" (128).

On the other hand, free practice has relevance for contests:

"Thus a green belt (a relatively low grade), for example, might do something unusual that is similar to the opportunities that sometimes occur in high level contests, in the heat of the moment" (129).

Also, contests are clearly a most important element in the writer's approach to Judo:

"I start to think about, and prepare for, a really big contest up to two months beforehand" (130).

The final reference contains rather more indirect, but nonetheless significant, evidence of a strong 'contest-orientation' in modern Judo. This is a report (131) of training by the British Team for the 1976 Olympic Games and has the title 'The Medal Collectors'. Perhaps the most interesting point is that the profiles of the players given

in the article are based largely on their Championship successes (medals won), while the caption to a photograph of one team member is:

"Iron man Starbrook - the thought of another Olympic medal spurs him on " (132),

again indicating a strong contest-orientation as a basis for training.

Examining the two groups of books previously referred to in this chapter, a clear picture of changes in the place of contests in Judo, in terms of 'formal statements', emerges. Koizumi's views have been examined already, as part of the 'traditional' view of contest; the Kodokan approach as represented by the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo', may be further elaborated by the following quotation:

"Therefore those who learn Judo are required to take contests whenever occasion offers and brush up their techniques, and at the same time, train their mind. Every contestant should observe the rules to the letter and demonstrate the Judo spirit so that one can play fair and do his best"(133).

The third and fourth books in this group (in chronological order), both published in 1961 (134) reflect a traditional line. Thus Ishiwaka and Draeger see contests as part of a set of wider objectives in Judo:

"The ultimate objective of Judo training today remains the same as intended by its founder, Dr. Kano and may be summarised as:

Physical development
Contest proficiency
Mental development

Modern concepts lay stress on the second quality, which most advocates support as the fundamental axis of Judo. Translated in more direct terms, Judo today, even in Japan, has become equated with contest or sporting efficiency. This is the very thing that Dr Kano warned against. Competitive Judo should only be a 'means' to the end of skill and principles for higher self-development, and any 'drift' towards 'contest' Judo as the 'sole' interpretation of Judo should be carefully regulated " (135).

Having referred to an emphasis being placed on 'competitive excellence' to a degree beyond that intended by Kano, the writer goes on:

"Apparently, the means intended by Master Kano are being mistaken for the ends. Contest Judo is vital to the health of Judo as an entity, but the objectives of Judo as originally defined are mutually supplementary and will best be continued by proper training methods which are suited for physical development and the regard for the growth of technique on a balanced foundation which regards each individual Judo exponent " (136).

In a similar vein, Matsushita and Stepto argue that

"It must always be remembered that contest is only a part of the Judo training, it is a means to help us attain the goal of Judo "(137),

In particular there is a danger of 'display professionalism' where sport is simply used to make money and enhance reputation. Further:

"I should like to emphasise again, for the benefit of keen British judo-men, that contest is only a part of Judo training. We should practise contest and contest methods but never forget to study the principle of Judo all the time and try to apply it. Skill in Judo contest is not the whole of Judo. We must not sacrifice the principles of Judo in the desire to win a contest at any cost. It is no use to study solely for contest; we must also study kata and the proper style of 'free practice'(138).

The fifth book in the first group again follows a similar line, although fairly briefly:

"The value of contest to the competitor is very great, it is not merely a matter of trying to win but a method of measuring his own progress in judo and of making sure that his technique is sound and realistic " (139).

The final book in the first group, by Geesink, contains no general expression of opinion on the place of contest in Judo but it is generally concerned with his contest career and the techniques he used in competition.

In the second group of books, there are very few examples of explicit statements on this issue, but in each case there are indications that contest-involvement is a predominant focus of Judo activity (as may also apply to Geesink's approach for example).

The title of Goodbody's book, 'Judo: How To Become Champion', gives an indication of the modern emphasis. Initially Judo is defined in the book as

"...a violent, aggressive combat sport" (140).

The author goes on to stress the need for preparation for competition:

"Compress the maximum amount of exercise into the minimum amount of time. Live, eat and sleep getting ahead of your rivals! " (141).

In the second book in this group, Gleeson (142) puts Judo into the context of modern sports:

"Judo, like so many other sports, is becoming more and more professional (I mean that strictly in its financial implications). Results are becoming very important, if only by winning there is more money available" (143).

In addition, Gleeson devotes 23 pages (144) (out of a total of 142) to consideration of contests and, perhaps more significantly, includes material indicating a systematic approach to contest participation and suggesting its importance. He thus covers 'strategic planning' of contests, examining developments in styles of contest play, the use of reports on contests (giving a running record of what has happened), the use of 'scouts or spies' and of 'visual aids', such as videotape, in recording contests (145) and tactics, which will be dealt with later in this chapter.

The third book contains a fairly explicit statement of 'contest-orientation' :

"Aspiration to success in competition serves as motivation which encourages many players to undertake a comprehensive study of a variety of throwing and groundwork techniques" (146),

and also deals with topics relevant to players strongly stressing contest participation. Thus in dealing with 'stale periods' (suffering ill-effects from sustained hard training), Glass suggests that

"Physical training for a competitive sport usually involves some degree of emotional as well as physical stress" (147),

while he advocates intensive training for contest and the development of the 'contest frame of mind' (148). Finally, his consideration of 'weight-control', to meet weight-limit requirement, suggests a direction of a player's life to the needs of contest. Thus, while dealing with short-run means of losing weight, he suggests that

"The best results in permanent weight reduction are achieved if the subject undertakes a small negative energy balance over a relatively long period of time, rather than a large one over a short period of time" (149).

The fourth book contains no explicit statement on the general place of contests in Judo but gives indications of the importance that they may have, for example in the chapter of the book devoted to fitness training (150), with a strong orientation to contest needs, in the final chapter, entitled 'Champions' (151) (dealing with some of Starbrook's opponents during his contest career) and in the list of 'competition successes' given at the end of the book (152).

In the fifth book again, there are indications of a contest emphasis, for example in the presence of a chapter entitled 'Winning Preparation' (153) and of one on 'Training

for Fitness ' (154), again in contest terms.

The final book of the modern group contains an explicit statement on the significance of contests in contemporary Judo. Thus, having described contest Judo as being regarded 'traditionally' as

"...the means for testing one's ability and as an important learning situation" (155),

Hoare goes on to suggest that

"...there are now many people who only do Judo to become Champions" (156).

Looking at the journal and book references relating to contests, two types of indication have been found, firstly explicit statements on the place of contests within Judo activity and secondly indications of a stress on contest-participation. The best examples of explicit statements are found in the first group of books; even where these involve a stress on contest Judo in their content (e.g. Matsushita and Stepto) or on systematic preparation for contest (e.g. Ishikawa and Draeger) they also contain statements in line with 'traditional' thinking on contests, that is that contests should be seen as only one aspect of Judo activity, not to be overemphasised. The journal articles relating to the late 1950s and early 1960s also support this approach. Turning to references in the 1970s, there are some examples of quite explicit statements on the significance of contests, these suggesting that contests occupy a more prominent place in Judo activity than was true about ten years earlier. Beyond this, the books in the second group do not contain any general statements which put contests 'into perspective' as do the earlier books. Finally, journal references from the 1970s indicate a definite stress, in training, on meeting the particular needs of contests.

Views on The Importance of Winning in Judo Contests

The modern stress on contests is likely to involve a stress on winning; in the 1970s references there are examples of people's motivation to train being based on a wish to win, for example wishing to win medals in championships (157). In attempting to clarify the position of contests in Judo at different times, therefore, it is necessary to analyse attitudes to the importance of winning contests. Initially it is necessary to distinguish between two broad approaches to the question. The first involves the idea that it is necessary to try to win every contest in which the player is involved, but with the accompanying idea that the result is not of overwhelming importance and that defeat, if the player has 'done his best', is to be accepted gracefully. The second approach in effect puts greater stress on the importance of winning, although this may involve a player being prepared to lose certain contests (i.e. not trying to win to the fullest extent possible). This specifically depends on the existence of the system of contest administration in Judo known as the repechage system (158); examples will be provided to demonstrate the incidence of this approach. Both approaches may be said to stress the importance of winning but they also reflect very considerable differences in basic moral orientations to Judo.

The first approach may be illustrated in relation to Judo between the wars, by three examples. Firstly, Koizumi suggests that, while a will to win is necessary, an excessive concern with victory misses the purpose of Judo in general (159). Secondly, the defensive approach of a player in a contest against a considerably more highly graded opponent is interpreted in terms of a loss of the 'training value' of the contest (160). Thirdly, in a team contest which ended in an equal points score,

the captain of the Budokwai Club Team presented the trophy to the opposing team rather than waiting for a deciding contest (161).

An almost 'pure' example of the second approach to the importance of winning is provided in a report of contests in the ninth Maccabiah Games in Israel:

"It was during this Team Event that we had the unfortunate spectacle of two teams meeting and both trying to lose in order that they should not meet the Americans in the semi-final " (162);

that is, the losing team would (through the repechage) have opponents from the other side of the competition table, rather than going on to meet the American team. Given that the American team was seen as the strongest in the competition, a team opposing them in the final would win a silver medal at least, while one opposing them in the semi-final (which the winning team in the contest referred to above would have had to do) would probably only have won a bronze medal. Two contestants were disqualified by the referee in this match, but disciplinary action was subsequently imposed on the coaches of the teams rather than on the players:

"Determined to maintain the high standard of Judo's International Sporting Code, Charles Palmer (President of the International Judo Federation) convened a Disciplinary Committee of three, and following a very lengthy discussion it was agreed that the French and Israeli officials concerned should be suspended for the rest of the Maccabiah Games " (163).

This sort of tactic or approach to contest is not taken to be common, indeed overall it seems to be quite rare. At least one other example may be quoted, however. The account of the contest in question does not explicitly refer to such tactics but they are clearly implied. Thus, in an account of the 'Open' category (that is the category open to players of any

weight division) of the 1967 British Open Championships, it is reported that a British player (McIver) who lost to a German player (Glahn) was 'confidently expected' to return to the competition via the repechage and to reach the semi-final. The contest which decided this (that is, if Glahn won, McIver would go into the repechage) between Glahn and another German player, Romenath, is described as follows:

"This produced probably the most startling result of the day which was as incredible as it was improbable and resulted in a win by ippon (full point) for Romenath almost before the two players had taken hold to begin the contest. Whatever the reason it effectively put McIver out of the semi-finals but even the fact that these two German players come from the same club makes it hard to believe that Romenath has the skill to achieve such an easy victory over Glahn" (164).

It should be noted that Glahn was an Olympic Games Silver Meddalist in 1964, was European Champion on several occasions, and defeated Romenath by a full point in the final of the event; this was described by the correspondent as

"A not unexpected result" (165).

Views on Contest Tactics in Post-War British Judo

The examples given here in realtion to 'repechage tactics' point to the need to consider contest tactics in general. This will be done in two ways, firstly by looking at general accounts of what tactics are taken to involve and secondly by looking at some examples of tactics which might have been thought questionable at the time at which they occurred.

In this instance book references will be taken first, as general accounts on tactics in journals are very limited in number.

The first group of books (as previously considered) provides a quite consistent set of accounts of what tactics

involve. The 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo' and Koizumi's 'My Study of Judo' make no reference to tactics as such, but in the other four, accounts of tactics refer either to the general development of technique and 'contest maturity' (166) or to the need to vary techniques, in a contest, in relation to the opponent's technique or style (167), a theme also arising in one pre-1970 journal reference (168).

The writers of four of the second group of books, on the other hand, give considerably more attention to tactics, referring to the systematic gathering of information about opponents and past matches (169), the 'psychology' of players (going beyond questions of contest nerves) (170), the idea of 'front fighting' (when leading in a contest), involving 'time-wasting' (171) and attempts to influence referees (for example trying to put pressure on them by suggesting that a throw deserves to score, quoting rules etc.) (172). In one instance these practices are acknowledged, but are viewed with disapproval (173). The two journal references in the 1970s (174) also refer to a wider range of tactics than that indicated in the earlier examples, also suggesting that tactics should be studied systematically (175) and that, on occasions, a contest should be planned (176), a point opposed in one book from the first group (177) (and, admittedly, in one in the second (178)).

Turning to reports of actual contests (179), there appears to be support for the idea that the range of tactics in use in Judo has increased since the 1950s. Thus, in the 1950s, the range of tactical ploys seems to have been limited to 'sitting on a lead' (adopting a defensive approach having gained an advantage) (180), whereas, in the 1970s, more

possibilities are found. These relate largely to developments in the rule of contest Judo, particularly involving 'non-combativity' and penalties for leaving the contest area (see Chapter 6, page 330). The former rule has resulted in the tactic referred to by Gleeson, that is 'front fighting', giving an impression of activity (181), while the latter has given rise to situations such as that described in the following quotation:

"It was very difficult to decide with such experienced tacticians who was at fault, Roy for persistently stepping out, or Brian for pushing. Both are clever enough actors to make it look as if the other had been the cause " (182).

There is also evidence of players being 'coached' in tactics (183).

It thus seems reasonable to suggest, on the basis of the above evidence, that changes have taken place both in the picture of tactics presented by writers on Judo and in the range and nature of tactical ploys actually used by contest players.

The Limits of The Moral Community in Judo: The Case of The Entry of Russia Into Judo

The question of tactics has involved a focus on certain moral assumptions in Judo, although these have not been examined in detail at this point. Another issue with clear moral connotations, in modern contest Judo, is the entry into international contest Judo, in the 1960s, of Eastern European countries, with traditions in wrestling but not specifically in Judo. The effect of this expansion of the 'Judo community' is perhaps best exemplified by looking at the entry into Judo of Russia, the most successful 'Iron Curtain' country

in modern Judo in terms of championship results (184). It will be useful to examine the response to Russian technique of those reporting the contests in the 1962 European Judo Championships (the year of entry of the Russians). The report in 'Judo' Magazine details the individual contests in the team match between Russia and Great Britain, and some others in which Russian competitors were involved; the reports of three (out of five) of the contests in the team match contain references to the unusual nature of the Russians' technique. The first involves the contest between Petherbridge and Kiknadze (who went on to be an Olympic Medallist and European Champion on several occasions):

"Although the Russian did little in the way of attacking with any orthodox judo technique, he did fight hard right through the contest" (185).

In the second (Kerr vs Lukaschewich) the theme is similar:

"The Russian had a decided jigotai (bent-over defensive posture) and rather wrestled with his smaller and more aggressive opponent than attempting Judo" (186),

as it is in the third (Maynard vs Kibrozashvili):

"The Russian was prepared to do almost anything to get his opponent down " (187),

A further example may be given, involving another contest between a Russian and a British player, in one of the individual categories (Sweeney vs Kiknadze):

"From the start the Russian attacked with a bewildering variety of techniques, most of them unrecognizable " (188).

These examples suggest an unorthodox, perhaps inelegant, approach on the part of the Russians, and reflect the sort of view of 'wrestling' as opposed to 'Judo', discussed in Chapter 5 (page 301). There is also, however, a more positive element in the account, for example in the first

and third quotations, relating to the Russians having considerable 'fighting spirit'. This point is made more explicitly in an account of the team contest between Russia and Holland:

"The Russians, although unorthodox were, nevertheless, the most eager fighters in the stadium, in every contest they harried their opponents" (189).

Another account of these championships involves a considerably stronger line of criticism, however. Having suggested, on the basis of seeing their first contests, that the Russian

"...did not seem to be doing much judo" (190), the writer goes on to suggest that

"...had the referees and judges been doing their job properly every one of the Russian team members could have been disqualified for infringements, sometimes quite serious, of the rules " (191).

One further comment, by a third writer, may be quoted, along with a suggestion for responding to the changes occurring in Judo. The writer thus suggests that

"The Championships are becoming more and more like wrestling with jackets on than judo"(192), and that British players should train with 'outsiders' (e.g. wrestlers), also bringing 'unconventional' methods into training sessions (193).

In the light of the earlier discussions on approaches to contests, it is interesting to note that this account links the trend towards 'wrestling' with an increased competitiveness in Judo:

"Contestants are so anxious to win titles that they cannot wait to obtain skill (which takes a long time), but depend on the quicker - but cruder - development of strength and stamina"(194),

and with the change from grade-based to weight-category

competition (195). The initial reactions to the entry of Russia into international competition thus involve unfavourable elements of greater or lesser strength.

After their first year of competition, however, the Russians appear to have been accepted rapidly, with reports stressing their virtues as competitors. Thus a general comment on the Russians' performance at the 1963 European Championships is :

"The Russians fight all the time, they never let up and expect the same of their opponents. They have more spirit than most and their standard of sportsmanship is extremely high " (196).

A report of one contest in an individual championship event carries the following comment, however:

"One has to watch out in this sort of contest that the Russians, who are loth to use any tactics within the rules in order to win, do not quite literally bodily lift the opponent up and try to score by slamming them down" (197).

The report of these championships in the Budokwai 'Judo Bulletin' is also less critical of the Russian approach and technique than that of the 1962 event had been. Thus in only one report of a contest is there a reference to the Russians being 'unusual':

"Here was a contest where Penfold's style was suppressed to a faint glimmer by the strong and unorthodox style of the Russian" (198).

Elsewhere, a comment on the performance of the British player Penfold is:

"I think he would have won the gold medal in the lightweight categories if he had been prepared to adopt a more mauling style against the Russian " (199).

While this represents a personal judgement (although the writer was an experienced Judoka (200)), it is interesting

as an indication that a very strong contest-orientation, in the manner of the 1970s, had not developed at this time; it suggests that the British player was not so concerned with contest success as to adopt a (possibly) morally, or aesthetically, less acceptable style than his usual one.

Over the next few years the Russians came to be accepted fully as part of the 'Judo world', as their success in championship terms continued (201), and it is not until the 1970s that references in 'Judo' Magazine relating to their Judo in general terms are found. There are five references during the 1970s to the way in which the Russian approach to Judo evolved. Of these references, three (202) suggest that Russian Judo has become more orthodox over the 1970s, different accounts suggesting different degrees of movement in this respect (203), while one (204) puts forward the view that they are still indulging in 'wrestling'. Both possibilities may be accepted; as Hoare (205) has indicated, two styles in modern world Judo can be identified, the 'orthodox Japanese' and the (Russian) 'wrestling', so that some Russians might have taken up the orthodox approach, others staying in the wrestling mould, with an element of selective perception entering into the different writers' verdicts on the overall approach of the Russians. The last reference (206) points to an interesting issue in the Russian approach, which also relates to the above discussion. Before examining the particular case in this reference, reported by Goodbody (207), it is necessary to look briefly at some points in the development of Judo in Russia. Initially Russian players were selected for Judo events on the basis of success in SAMBO (Russian self-defence) competition and were instructed

in Judo rules, their SAMBO technique, although being seen as 'unorthodox', not being radically different from that applicable in Judo. In 1974, however, the Russian authorities decided that players had to choose either SAMBO or Judo, not being permitted to compete in both. The case reported by Goodbody is that of a Russian player who, having competed in the Judo event in the 1972 Olympics, took part only in SAMBO events between 1972 and 1978, but was then selected for the 1980 Olympics (in Judo), suggesting that the 1974 decision was overridden under pressure to find a competitor with a good chance of winning an Olympic medal.

The importance of examining the impact of Russia on international competition is that it is another indication of change in approaches to Judo contests among players in general. The timing of the Russian entry into Judo is significant, given that Judo was to be included, for the first time, in the 1964 Olympics (208) (in which the Russians won four bronze medals), as Russia was clearly interested in Olympic success. What is perhaps more interesting, however, is the response of other countries to the appearance of Russia; while initial response was unfavourable, the balance of opinion seems to have shifted quite rapidly in favour of Russia. It is perhaps unlikely that this would have happened in the same way in the 1950s. The impact of the Olympics on approaches to training (see page 231) has already been noted; it can be asserted that the inclusion of Judo in the Olympics was also significant in moving opinion towards a stronger contest-orientation, so that the 'unorthodoxy' of the Russians was not simply condemned out of hand but became the subject of soul-searching among traditional Judo

authorities, who were clearly concerned about the competitive strength of Russia. A good example of this can be found in the following quotation from an article written by a leading Japanese Judoka in 1963 (209):

"Will the Japanese judo team win the Gold Medals in the 1964 Olympics?
There is increasing doubt in the popular mind as to whether this will be the case. The most recent occasion which raised this apprehension was the visit to Japan in February of the Soviet team. In goodwill judo matches with Japan's best student judoka the Russians proved formidable " (210).

The fact that the Russians did not, initially at least, subscribe to the 'informal moral rules' of Judo, relating to posture (211) and to orthodoxy of techniques, for example, thus evoked a less hostile response than it might have done, as those concerned to respond to it (other Judo countries) saw the effectiveness of the Russian players, within the formal rules of Judo, (bearing in mind the comments of Palmer - see page 267) and, in a climate of opinion where contest effectiveness was coming to assume a position of great importance within Judo, therefore quite soon accepted them as legitimate.

Summary

In summary, it has so far been argued that, in the approach established by Jigoro Kano, Judo training has a scientific basis (in the way in which technique should be applied) and a strong moral significance, in that the lessons of Judo should shape the individual's life; this approach was strongly supported, in both aspects (scientific and moral), by Koizumi. In the 1960s, the application of science to Judo training shifted in emphasis, however, scientific knowledge

being applied for the development of contest effectiveness rather than for that of overall Judo technique as such. The case of weight-training indicates this sort of movement of thinking. The moral aspects of training are thought of by a number of writers as having been important in British Judo in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but by the 1970s opinion had shifted towards the idea of Judo being simply an Olympic sport, with a strong emphasis on success in competition. The 'traditional' line on the place of contests within Judo activity (supported by Kano and by Koizumi) is that they are simply one part of Judo activity, specifically a means towards a wider end (e.g. self-perfection), and not to be over-emphasised; this line is maintained in general statements on contest in the late 1950s and early 1960s. By the 1970s, however, contest play had come to assume greater prominence as an activity, the 'importance of winning' coming, at times, to take on a different meaning than it had in, say, the 1930s. The meaning of 'contest tactics' has also expanded and shifted in emphasis. Finally, the entry of Russia into international Judo competition is significant as responses to this entry by other countries provides a further indication that a movement towards 'contest orientation' was beginning to take place, at least in part as a result of the inclusion of Judo in the Olympic Games.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1) The notion of 'scientific' employed here takes as its basis an idea of science as it can be interpreted in writings by and for Judo players. It is a concept with a number of related strands or elements in its usage; the following may be identified: firstly 'scientific' may mean 'relating to a body of organised theoretical knowledge', so that a 'scientific' approach is one based on a 'theory,' giving consistency to applications of the approach, rather than their being simply ad hoc; secondly a 'scientific' approach may be one based on calculation (as is seen in Kano's ideas on the use of force); thirdly, 'scientific' approaches may be based on an appeal to or use of an existing scientific discipline, the reference to the discipline in itself being seen to make the approach 'scientific'.
- (2) White, D., "Trevor Leggett Talks to David White", Judo, Vol.16, No. 2, August 1972, Page 17
- (3) Ross.R., "Foreword", to Starbrook, D., "Judo: Starbrook Style", Macdonald and Jane's, 1978, page 6. Other examples may be found in Judo, Vol.6, No. 8, May 1962, pages 4 and 5, Judo, Vol. 17, No. 7, April/May 1974, page 12 and Judo, Vol. 8, No. 5, July 1975, page 7
- (4) Koizumi, G., "Judo (IV, Tsukure and Kake, continued)", The Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 5, August 1929
- (5) Koizumi, G., "Strength and Weakness of the Mechanism of the Human Body", The Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1929
- (6) Koizumi, "My Study of Judo ", Foulsham, 1960, page 26
- (7) Ibid., page 26
- (8) Kano, R., "Preface", Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan, Tokyo, Report 1, 1958
- (9) Kano, R., "Preface", Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan, Tokyo, Report II, 1963
- (10) Ibid.
- (11) Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan, Tokyo, Report I, 1958
- (12) Ikai, M., et. al., "Physiological Studies on 'Choking' in Judo", pages 1-22 ('choking' refers to the constriction of the opponent's windpipe); Suzuki, K., "Medical Studies on 'Choking' in Judo, with Special Reference to Electro-encephalographic Investigation", pages 23-48

- (13) Ikai, M. & Matsumoto, Y., "The Kinetics of Judo", pages 49-62; Ikai, M., "Studies on Reflex Action in Judo", pages 63-70
- (14) Ikai & Matsumoto, op.cit., page 49
- (15) Ikai, "Studies on Reflex Action in Judo," op.cit., page 63
- (16) Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan, Tokyo, Report II, 1963
- (17) Sasa, T. et al., "Physical Fitness of the Top Judoists in Japan (1961)", pages 23-34
- (18) Ibid., page 23
- (19) Ibid., page 23
- (20) Ibid., page 23
- (21) Sasa, T. et al., "Physical Fitness of the Top Judoists in Japan (1962)", page 43
- (22) Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan, Tokyo, Report III, 1969
- (23) Gleeson, G., "Budokwai News", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 11, August 1959, Page 6
- (24) The items were lectures and/or demonstrations
- (25) For example items in 1960 and 1963
- (26) Hodgkinson, H., "The National Technical Conference", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 60, January 1960, page 25
- (27) Ibid., page 25
- (28) "Coaching Notes" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 10, No. 5, February 199, page 14
- (29) Gilbert, D.A., "The Physiological Basis and Application of Shime-waza", Judo, Vol. 6, No. 5, February 1962, pages 36-9
- (30) Ibid., page 39
- (31) Brewster, K., "Midland Area News", Judo, Vol. 8, No. 1, October 1963, page 11
- (32) McAllister, J., "Timing", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 77, April 1964, pages 2-5; "Force", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 79, October 1964, pages 19-22
- (33) "Personal Fitness Index Testing" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 9, No. 11, August 1965, pages 32-3

- (34) Hughes, M., "Doctor Ken - The Man Who Trains The Stars", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 7, January 1973, page 26
- (35) Ibid., page 26
- (36) Kingsbury, Dr. K., "Problems and Experience in General Care, Part 2", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 3, April/May 1975, pages 25-32
- (37) Ibid.
- (38) Ibid., pages 26-7
- (39) Ibid., pages 27-30
- (40) See e.g. Murray, A., "Modern Weight-Training", Kaye & Ward, 1971, page 10
- (41) Books on Judo provide useful evidence, directly or indirectly, on certain topics relevant to this study. In particular, they are likely (in comparison with e.g. 'Judo' Magazine) to contain considered views of general 'states of affairs', rather than immediate responses to particular events, which may be expected of a monthly journal, although journals do also sometimes contain 'considered views', which will be taken where relevant. Also, books often aim to give a clear picture of Judo in general to an audience which may contain 'outsiders' (thus providing a useful summary of points characterising Judo at the time of publication), whereas a journal is likely to be dealing with an 'insider' audience.
- (42) This does not mean that literally every mention of the words 'weight-training' is recorded here, but all articles which give indications of approaches to weight-training at the time of writing have been taken.
- (43) The books have been selected according to two criteria. Many books on Judo are confined to accounts of Judo techniques, with no more than cursory references (if any) to matters of interest to this chapter (such as weight-training, the place of contests in Judo, the nature of contest tactics etc.), while relatively few give significant coverage to such general Judo matters. One criterion for consideration of a book is thus that the book should involve reasonable (in length) coverage of the relevant topic. Secondly, as an important focus of interest here is changes in approaches to training and to contests between the late 1950s/early 1960s and the middle 1970s onwards, two groups of books have been chosen, representing these two periods. Combining the two criteria, six books have been taken to represent the first period and six the second (the identical numbers are coincidental). In the first group, four were

(43) cont.

published between 1960 and 1963; to these have been added the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo', published in 1955, and Anton Geesink's 'My Championship Judo', published in 1966. The former is included because of the importance of the Kodokan in presenting a 'traditional' line of argument and the second is included firstly because of Geesink's significance in World Judo (as the first non-Japanese to become World Champion) and secondly because his main period of activity in contest Judo was between the mid 1950s and 1965, thus in effect placing him in the first period under consideration here. The second group contains books published between 1974 and 1980. There is thus a gap of ten years between the two sets of books, which should allow for a clear indication of changed conditions observed by the writers of the second group of books, thus presenting a contrast with the first period. The two groups of books will be referred to in relation to a number of topics in this chapter in addition to the question of weight-training: views on the place of contests in Judo, views on the nature of contest tactics and views on whether Judo has 'moral' or 'philosophical' connotations beyond those which might be associated with a 'Western sport'.

- (44) Grabher, A., "Judo Training Hints", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 9, June 1957, pages 41-2; Bowen, R., "The All Japan Championship 1959", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 11, August 1959, pages 9-16; Hodgkinson, op.cit; 'Legatus', "National Technical Conference ", Judo, Vol. 5, No. 2, November 1960, pages 2-5; Kerr, G., "Weight Training for Judo", Judo, Vol. 5, No. 7, April 1961, pages 12-13; Kerr, G., "Power Training for Judo", Judo, Vol. 5, No. 8, May 1961, pages 31-3; Bowen, R., "Review of Udo Training Methods", (i.e. Ishikawa, T. & Draeger, D., "Judo Training Methods: A Sourcebook", Tuttle, 1961), Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 72, January 1963, pages 20-25; Draeger, D., "Weight Training", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 74, July 1963, pages 28-31; Yamada, S., "Judo and Weight Training", Judo, Vol. 7, No. 12, September 1963, page 13; "Success at the Seaside" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 7, No. 12, September 1963, pages 2-8; "Western Area Technical Conference 1965" (writer not named), Judo, Vol. 10, No. 4, January 1966, page 8; Scottish Correspondent, "British Team Members Train in Scotland", Judo, Vol. 10, No. 8, May 1966, pages 28-9; Goodbody, J., "Syd Hoare on How I Trained the Champions", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 6, November 1971, pages 28-9; Goodbody, J., "Dave Starbrook - Judo's Iron Man", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 8, January 1972, pages 24-6; Hughes, M., "Action at Bridgewater", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 9, February 1972, pages 30-31; White D., "Geoff Gleeson Talks to David White", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 11, April 1972, pages 2-5; White, D.,

(44) cont.

- "David White Talks to Brian Jacks", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 2, October 1973, pages 16-19; Goodbody, J., "John Goodbody Reports from Tokyo", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 7, April/May 1974, pages 1-13; Hoare, S., "The Greatest Success", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 11, October 1974, pages 9-10; Hoare, S., "A Judoman's Development", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 2, March 1975, pages 6-9
- (45) Grabher, op.cit.; Bowen, "The All Japan Championship 1959", op.cit.; Hodgkinson, op.cit.; 'Legatus', op.cit.; Bowen, "Review of 'Judo Training Methods' ", op.cit.; Yamada, op.cit.
- (46) For example, the presence of a weight-training annexe in a Judo club is reported in one case ("Success at the Seaside", op.cit., page 3) and the distribution of weight-training schedules at a conference is reported in another ("Western Area Technical Conference 1965", op.cit., page 8)
- (47) Kodokan, "Illustrated Kodokan Judo", Kodansha, 1955; Koizumi, "My Study of Judo", op.cit.; Matsushita, S. & Stepto, W., "Contest Judo", Foulsham, 1961; Geesink, A., "My Championship Judo", Foulsham, 1966; Nakanishi, C., "The Key to Judo", Pelham 1963; Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit.
- (48) Kodokan, op.cit.; Koizumi, "My Study of Judo", op.cit.; Matsushita & Stepto, op.cit.; Geesink, op.cit. It should be pointed out, however, that Matsushita and Stepto refer to the use of running in training (page 15) and to doing knee-bends with a partner across the shoulders, that is resistance-training with a 'live-weight', (n.60), while a photograph in Geesink's book of him doing 'condition-training' before the 1964 Olympics shows him carrying logs, again a form of resistance-training (page 134).
- (49) Nakanishi, op.cit.
- (50) Ibid., page 46
- (51) Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit.
- (52) Ibid., pages 20-21
- (53) Ibid., pages 121-2
- (54) Goodbody, J., "Judo: How To Become A Champion", Luscombe, 1974; Gleeson, G., "All About Judo", EP, 1975; Glass, G., "Competitive Judo", Faber, 1977; Reay, A. & Hobbs, G., "The Judo Manual", Barrie & Jenkins, 1979; Starbrook, op.cit.; Hoare, S., "Judo", Hodder & Stoughton (Teach Yourself Books), 1980

- (55) The absence of weight-training as such from these traditional accounts is not surprising; during Kano's lifetime and during much of Koizumi's, weight-training was not a common feature of any sports preparation.
- (56) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., page 45
- (57) Ibid., page 45
- (58) Grabher, op.cit., page 41
- (59) Hodgkinson, op.cit., page 25
- (60) The main question involved is whether 'live-weight' training - that is, using the weight of a partner's body - is most effective for building strength for use in Judo, as it approximates to the condition of Judo, or whether 'dead-weight' training - with bars and weights - is more efficient for the building of strength as such, the strength then being applied in a Judo context. To rephrase the question, it is a matter of whether strength should be developed in the Judo context from the start (using 'live-weight') or whether it should be developed in the most efficient way in itself, later being applied in the Judo setting. The question is significant in terms of indicating the strength of the 'insulation' of Judo from other sporting or athletic activities.
- (61) 'Legatus', op.cit., page 5; Bowen, "Review of 'Judo Training Methods ' ", op.cit., page 22
- (62) Yamada, op.cit., page 13
- (63) Kerr, "Weight Training for Judo", op.cit.; Kerr, "Power Training for Judo", op.cit.; Draeger, op.cit.; Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit.
- (64) Goodbody, "Judo: How To Become A Champion", op.cit., page 13; Starbrook, op.cit., page 112; Hoare, "Judo", op.cit., page 132
- (65) Hodgkinson, op.cit., page 25
- (66) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit.
- (67) Ibid., page 45
- (68) White, "Geoff Gleeson Talks to David White", op.cit., page 3
- (69) Reay & Hobbs, op.cit., page 156
- (70) Starbrook, op.cit., page 114; Hoare, "Judo", op.cit., pages 131-3
- (71) Umetsu, M., "Power Judo", Judo, Vol. 5, No. 1, October 1960, pages 6-7.

- (72) Ibid., page 6
- (73) Ibid., pages 6-7
- (74) Koizumi, "My Study of Judo", op.cit., page 18
- (75) Ibid.
- (76) Ibid., pages 171-2
- (77) Ibid., page 175
- (78) Ibid., page 179
- (79) Ibid., page 180
- (80) Ibid., page 184
- (81) Ibid., page 178
- (82) Ibid., page 179
- (83) Ibid., page 179
- (84) Ibid., page 179
- (85) "Mental Judo", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 6, March 1957, page 7; "Judo and the Aesthetic Sense", Judo, Vol. 2, No. 10, August 1958, pages 37-9; "Clear Thinking", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 4, January 1959, pages 20-1 and 35; "The Cult of Judo", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 75, October 1964, pages 2-4; "Judo Training and the Basic Human Education", Judo Bulletin, (Budokwai), No. 80, January 1965, pages 22-3; "The Significance of Judo Training", Judo Bulletin, No. 81, April 1965, page 15
- (86) Gleeson, G., "Individual Championships", Judo, Vol.1, No. 11, August 1957, page 8; Goodbody, J., "The Old Order Changeth at the Budokwai", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 5, February 1971, page 10; White, D., "Charles Palmer Interview", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 9, February 1972, page 3; White, D., "Trevor Leggett Talks to David White", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 2, August 1972, page 16
- (87) Leggett, T., "Judo and Display Professionalism", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 10, July 1957, pages 3-4
- (88) Leggett, T., "Judo in Practice", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 60, January 1960, pages 5-10
- (89) Mann, D., "The Occult Side of Judo", Judo, Vol. 4, No. 6, March 1960, page 17

- (90) Maynard, K., "Whatever Happened to Katsu?", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 7, April 1969, pages 32-3 (Katsu are traditional Japanese techniques of resuscitation); Maynard, K., "The Proof of the Pudding", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 12, September 1969, page 7
- (91) White, D., "Budo - Sport, Art, or Religion", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 1, April 1976, pages 2-4
- (92) Matsushita & Stepto, op.cit.; Geesink.; op.cit.
- (93) Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit., pages 19 and 20
- (94) Nakanishi, op.cit.
- (95) Ibid., page 24
- (96) Ibid., page 25
- (97) Ibid., pages 92-5
- (98) Glass, op.cit.
- (99) Goodbody, "Judo: How To Become A Champion", op.cit
- (100) Nakanishi, op.cit.
- (101) Hoare, "Judo", op.cit.
- (102) White, "Budo - Sport, Art or Religion", op.cit.
- (103) Goodger, J.M., "Judo: A Changing Culture", thesis for submission, for Ph.D., to the University of London, 1981.
- (104) Ibid. In his sub-sample B (those attaining Dan grade before 1960), 8 out of 17 saw Judo as being different from other sports, the other 9 seeing it as being 'now' essentially a modern sport. In sub-sample C (those attaining Dan grade after 1960, the sample containing mainly players active in contest in the early to mid 1970s), 3 out of 14 saw Judo as different from other sports, and 8 saw it essentially as a modern sport. (Chapter 4, Section 3, Table 1).
- (105) Ibid. In sub-sample B, 12 out of 17 had read philosophy 'in some depth', while in sub-sample C, only 3 out of 14 had done so; of the above 12 in sub-sample B, 10 felt they had been influenced in their choice of reading by 'Judo contacts'. (Chapter 4, Section 3, Tables 11 and 12)
- (106) This is true of all the books in the '1970s group'.
- (107) Draeger, "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", Weatherhill, 1974
- (108) Ibid., page 121. Draeger here quotes Kano's words, but does not cite the original reference.

- (109) Ibid., pages 121-2
- (110) 'Nonbello', "A Wail Against Contests", The Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 7, October 1929
- (111) Ibid.
- (112) Ibid.
- (113) Tricker, H.A., "A Reply to 'A Wail Against Contests'", The Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 8, November 1929
- (114) Koizumi, G., "The Debate on Contests", The Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 9, December 1929
- (115) Koizumi, G., "Judo Contests at the Thirteenth Annual Display of the Budokwai", The Budokwai, Vol. 1, No. 12, March/May 1930
- (116) Koizumi, "My Study of Judo", *op.cit.*, page 40
- (117) Ibid., page 40
- (118) Pearson, F., "Contests in the Training Programme", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 69, April 1962, pages 6-9. The account of these references will be given at greater length than has been the case up to this point, as the place of contests is taken to be a central issue in the analysis of change in Judo.
- (119) Ibid., page 6
- (120) Maynard, K., "The Sunday Class", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 8, May 1969, page 32
- (121) Maynard, K., "Contest Training", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 4, January 1969, page 29
- (122) Hoare, S., "Uchimata", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 11, April 1972, pages 17-20
- (123) Ibid., pages 17-18
- (124) White, D., "David White Talks to Ray Ross and Syd Hoare", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 3, November 1973, pages 11-14
- (125) Ibid., page 12
- (126) Ibid., page 12
- (127) Jacks, B., "Some Personal Advice from Brian Jacks", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 11, October 1974, pages 11-12 and 23
- (128) Ibid., page 11
- (129) Ibid., page 11
- (130) Ibid., page 12

- (131) Hopkinson, M., "The Medal Collectors", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 4, August/September 1976, pages 2-6
- (132) Ibid., page 4
- (133) Kodokan, op.cit., page 159
- (134) Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit.; Matsushita & Stepto, op.cit.
- (135) Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit., pages 43-4
- (136) Ibid., page 44
- (137) Matsushita & Stepto, op.cit., page 82
- (138) Ibid., page 82
- (139) Nakanishi, op.cit., page 80
- (140) Goodbody, "Judo: How To Become A Champion", op.cit., page 13
- (141) Ibid., page 24
- (142) Although Gleeson had occupied a prominent position in British Judo from the mid 1950s onwards, his thought clearly evolved during the 1960s; by 1975 his thought, as expressed in this book, stands as a good example of 'modern' thought, in the manner criticised by Koizumi (see page 246)
- (143) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., page 86
- (144) Ibid., pages 64-86
- (145) Ibid., pages 65-6
- (146) Glass, op.cit., page 13
- (147) Ibid., page 14
- (148) Ibid., page 16
- (149) Ibid., page 86
- (150) Starbrook, op.cit., Chapter 7, pages 105-14
- (151) Ibid., Chapter 8, pages 117-25
- (152) Ibid., page 128
- (153) Reay & Hobbs, op.cit., Chapter 22, pages 115-22
- (154) Ibid., Chapter 29, pages 147-56
- (155) Hoare, "Judo", op.cit., page 138

- (156) Ibid., page 138
- (157) For example, Hopkinson, op.cit., page 4; Glass, op.cit., page 16; Reay & Hobbs, op.cit., page 115; Hoare, "Judo", op.cit., page 138
- (158) This system was introduced in the European Championships in 1965; it gave those people who lost to an eventual finalist in an event a chance to fight again (as they might only have lost very closely to the eventual winner in an early round, and so deserved a chance to prove their quality). In the original formulation, a player coming back in the repechage could conceivably win the title (perhaps beating the player to whom he originally lost). The system was changed in 1974, however, so that a player coming back in the repechage could only win a Bronze Medal, as the original finalists contested the first and second places. The winner of an event would thus be the player who did not lose any contests during the competition.
- (159) Koizumi, "The Debate on Contests", op.cit.
- (160) Koizumi, "Judo Contests at the Thirteenth Annual Display of the Budokwai", op.cit.
- (161) Ibid.
- (162) Mendel, M., "The Ninth Maccabiah", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 2, October 1973, page 23
- (163) Ibid., page 24
- (164) Special Correspondent, "British Open Individual Championships 1967", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 4, January 1968, page 31
- (165) Ibid., page 32
- (166) Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit., pages 97 and 98; Geesink, op.cit., pages 117-20
- (167) Matsushita & Stepto, op.cit., pages 75-80 and 82-5; Nakanishi, op.cit., pages 82-3
- (168) Lister, H.P. "Initiative in Judo", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 78, July 1964, pages 25-7
- (169) Gleeson, G., "All About Judo", op.cit., pages 65-6; Starbrook, op.cit., page 9
- (170) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., pages 67-71; Hoare, "Judo", op.cit., page 140
- (171) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., pages 83-5
- (172) Ibid.

- (173) Reay & Hobbs, op.cit., pages 126-7
- (174) Barnett, P., "A Short Introduction to Tactics", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 9, February 1972, pages 32-5; Gleeson, G., "To Plan or Not to Plan - A Judo Contest", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 6, February/March 1974, pages 21-2
- (175) Barnett, op.cit., pages 33-4
- (176) Gleeson, "To Plan or Not to Plan - A Judo Contest", op.cit., page 21
- (177) Ishikawa & Draeger, op.cit., page 97
- (178) Reay & Hobbs, op.cit., page 127
- (179) In this instance it is not claimed that these references contain all relevant examples, as the earlier ones in the Chapter have been (in relation to each specific topic and to the criteria for inclusion), but they are used to illustrate certain general points arising from the general accounts of tactics.
- (180) See for example, Bowen, R., "The Tokyo Championships 1957", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 10, July 1957, page 15; Bowen, R., "2nd World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 5, February 1959, page 2; Judo, Vol. 2, No. 3, Mid-December 1957/Mid-January 1958, page 8; Judo, Vol. 2, No. 8, June 1958, pages 5 and 6; Judo, Vol. 3, No. 9, June 1959, page 13
- (181) Gleeson, "All About Judo", op.cit., pages 83-4
- (182) Reay, A., "1975 British Open Championships", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 4, June 1975, page 7
- (183) Fryer, V., "European Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 1, July 1972, page 2; Hughes, M., "British Team Bring Back Three Medals", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 4, October 1972, page 4
- (184) Some aspects of Russian involvement in Judo contests are also examined in Chapter 5, page 301
- (185) Menzies, A., "European Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 6, No. 10, July 1962, page 9
- (186) Ibid., page 11
- (187) Ibid., page 12
- (188) Ibid., page 20
- (189) Ibid., page 16
- (190) Palmer, C., "European Championships, Essen 1962", Judo Bulletin(Budokwai), No. 70, July 1962, page 2

- (191) Ibid., page 2
- (192) Gleeson, G., "Essen 1962", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 70, July 1962, page 5
- (193) Ibid., page 6
- (194) Ibid., page 5
- (195) Ibid., page 5
- (196) Menzies, A., "European Judo Championships", Judo , Vol. 7, No. 9, June 1963, page 10
- (197) Ibid., page 12
- (198) Bradbury, W., "Geneva 1963", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 74, July 1963, page 6
- (199) Ibid., page 7
- (200) Bradbury was a 3rd Dan and British international representative.
- (201) A notable Russian victory was that by B.Mischenko against the reigning All-Japan Champion, I.Okano; during the contest Okano's shoulder was dislocated by an armlock applied by the Russina, leading to Okano submitting.
- (202) Hoare, S., "The 1972 Olympics: A Technical Report", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 4, October 1972, page 7; Goodbody, J., "British Judo's Finest Hour ", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 8, June 1974, page 6; Hughes, M., "The Red Threat Becomes a Reality", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 5, July 1975, page 2
- (203) Of the accounts listed in note 202, that by Goodbody suggests the greatest degree of change, followed by that by Hughes and that by Hoare.
- (204) Fryer, V., "1977 Senior Men's European Championships", Judo, Vol. 20, No. 1, September 1977, page 9
- (205) Hoare, "The 1972 Olympics: A Technical Report", op.cit., page 7
- (206) Goodbody, J., "27th European Team Championships", Judo, Vol. 20, No. 12, December 1978, pages 2-8
- (207) Ibid., pages 2-3
- (208) The decision to include Judo was made by the International Olympic Committee in September 1960 (see Murata, K., "Kodokan Criticised", Judo, Vol. 7, No. 10, July 1963, page 16), thus giving Russia time to undertake some preparation of her competitors, in terms of knowledge of the contest rules, for example, in the 1962 European Championships.

- (209) Ibid.
- (210) Ibid., page 16
- (211) A picture in the Budokwai 'Judo Bulletin' report of the 1962 European Championships carries the caption 'Showing the typical stance of the Russians' (Judo Bulletin - Budokwai - No. 70, July 1962, page 6) , an 'exaggeratedly' side-on, rather bent-over stance.

CHAPTER 5

JUDO AS A PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

In the last chapter various aspects of Judo training and contest activity were examined; in this chapter the focus is on the ways in which people acquire knowledge of Judo technique and on issues relevant to the position of Judo knowledge in relation to closely associated sporting activities (wrestling, for example).. Certain features of Judo activity suggest that it is justifiable to apply ideas from recent studies in the Sociology of Education to this aspect of Judo; the grading system (see Chapter 3, pages 206-9), giving a clear indication of the student's progression in his or her study, the existence of syllabi giving performance requirements for each grade (Chapter 3, pages 208-9) and the relatively formal manner of instruction characteristic of Judo all suggest parallels with education (perhaps particularly at post-school level, where education is basically a voluntary activity, as is Judo).

The following areas of concern in the study of Judo will be considered; while they may be analytically separated they are clearly closely connected.

1. Pedagogic relationships in Judo and learning processes: here the character of teaching and learning in classical budo disciplines in Japan and in Judo in the period after World War 2 in Britain and Japan will be considered. Classical disciplines may be taken as an extreme form of a pedagogic relationship involving domination of the transmission process by a master, with the student's progress and the sequencing of activities being entirely implicit from his point of view, and with the student having to follow the master's example, learning 'intuitively', by watching closely the master's actions and slowly developing skill. Developments

in the modern period have weakened this pattern, introducing more explicit processes of reproduction of the form of Judo.

2. Relationships between 'Judo knowledge' and 'non-Judo knowledge': in this instance a clear process of lowering barriers to certain types of non-Judo knowledge and practice, particularly Western wrestling forms, has occurred, thus producing a redefinition of the practical working boundaries of Judo, particularly contest Judo.

3. Developments in pedagogic approaches and aspects of the relationship between Judo knowledge and non-Judo knowledge will be examined through two case studies. The first of these relates to the coaching movement in British Judo over the 1960s and early 1970s; the significance of this movement lies particularly in its attempt to develop a scientific pedagogy, in line with general educational thought, for Judo. The second case study is of certain aspects of relationships between different Judo organisations in Britain, mainly in the 1950s, this question concerning mainly standards in grading, that is evaluation, rather than pedagogy as such.

In terms of the basic pedagogic relationship, a distinction is made by Bernstein (1) between types of approach taken by schools, and shifts between these types are important areas in his work. While Bernstein himself seems rather dismissive of the value of some of these works in themselves (2), they include a number of points which are of the greatest relevance to the analysis of changes in Judo. In particular, two points concerning what are heret termed 'traditional' pedagogic approaches are most important, firstly that teaching is based on clear teacher control, with the teacher determining

and closely supervising the teaching in its organisation, pacing and timing (3) and secondly, from the point of view of the learner, that there is no explicit exploration of the principles underlying a subject at an early stage, the 'ultimate mystery' only being revealed late in the student's career (4).

Teaching and Learning in Classical Budo

Initially processes of teaching and learning in traditional Japanese Budo disciplines will be examined. The general characteristics of these forms were described in Chapter 1 (pages 24-5), but here attention is on more specific processes of knowledge-transmission and acquisition than were dealt with there.

The two points characterising 'traditional' pedagogy in the school context, given above, may be compared with the description given by Draeger (5) of teaching and learning in classical Budo. The total learning process in such disciplines is taken to pass through four stages, training ('gyo'), austere training ('shugyo'), art ('jutsu') and self-perfection or realisation ('do') (6). The control exercised by the teacher (the 'master') is indicated by the following points. Three requirements are listed for entry to a 'ryu' (a 'school' of Budo practice): love for the chosen discipline, a strong will to endure its rigours, and, most significantly from the present point of view, an "uncritical veneration for the master" (7). The nature of the master-student relationship is further indicated by the fact that it was incumbent on the student to convince the master of his will to learn, a formal introduction by a

trusted contact of the master being generally required (see Chapter 1, page 30).

The actual training approach further demonstrates the strength of the framing involved (8). The master is seen as being in complete control of the process of learning, supervising the student's progress closely, through daily contact, setting the lines of development of the student, and evaluating the stage and rate of his development. This control is clearly facilitated by the importance of the 'intuitive' learning approach in classical Budo. This approach is seen as a slow but deep method of learning, contrasted with 'short-term logical learning', which is taken to be shallow in its effect. The pedagogic relationship thus involves the student submitting to the will of the master and attempting, over a long period of training, to gain insight by copying the master's actions, which are presented without any explicit clarification. As Draeger suggests,

"The trainee's questions are met by the master's laconic reply, 'Don't ask, train' " (9).

The student thus follows, repeatedly, the actions of the prearranged form of technique ('kata'), (see Chapter 1, pages 47 and 59). Throughout the period of training, passing through the four stages previously mentioned, the master continually sets technical problems for the student to overcome, and is most concerned that the student should not develop an unrealistic view of his own ability. Thus, when practical competence of a certain degree has been attained, there may be a danger that

"...without the master the trainee would at this point fall into the bottomless pit of vanity. The master humbles the trainee by engaging him personally in kata training, and pointing directly, through such action, at the trainee's limitations"(10).

Clearly here the student can be under no illusion that he has mastered the principles of the art until its final stage of development, that of self-perfection. Only at this stage can

"the master technician claim to be master both of his art and of himself" (11).

One point of great potential significance relating to this system of teaching and learning is that the master becomes an object of special scrutiny for the disciple, who will examine every detail of the master's actions in a search for meaning. This is bound to intensify the bond between master and disciple (and the dependence of the disciple on the master), the relationship having a visual rather than verbal emphasis. This may have important consequences for the disciple's later activity, in that he will learn to scrutinise action very closely, developing great sensitivity to the nature of physical action.

The difficulties, for a Westerner at least, of remaining within such a pedagogic relationship over a period of years have been described by Herrigel (12). This 'participant observation' account of learning Japanese archery (kyudo) indicates the apparently paradoxical situation that, while the master appears to be taking no particularly prominent part in the proceedings, undertaking very little explicit instruction,

"...shunning long-winded instructions and explanations, the latter contents himself with perfunctory commands and does not reckon on any questions from the pupil" (13),

yet the power of the master is very great. The relative positions of master and pupil are indicated by the last part of the above quotation, and are further shown by an incident

recounted by Herrigel. He had been practising, away from the master, a technique of loosing the arrow which he felt had overcome a problem he had been facing.

"The very first shot I let off after the recommencement of the lessons was, to my mind, a brilliant success. The loose was smooth, unexpected. The Master looked at me for a while and then said hesitantly, like one who can scarcely believe his eyes: 'Once again, please!' My second shot seemed to me even better than the first. The Master stepped up to me without a word, took the bow from my hand, and sat down on a cushion, his back towards me. I knew what that meant and withdrew" (14).

The Master had felt that Herrigel had been 'cheating' and it was only through the intercession of a Japanese friend that the Master was prepared to continue his teaching. The strength of the Master's control over the pacing of the work is indicated by his response to Herrigel's complaint that he had been training for four years but seemed to have made no progress:

"The way to the goal is not to be measured!
Of what importance are weeks, months, years?" (15)

While this appears to deny the importance of pacing as such, in fact the master's control was absolute; as Herrigel says,

"I...would have liked to stop practising, too, had not the Master held me inexorably in his grip " (16).

Eventually the master signified that Herrigel had in fact mastered the basic stage of the technique, although he was not aware of having performed the technique in any significantly different way from his previous efforts. Thus the major points previously referred to as characterising what has been termed a 'traditional' pedagogic relationship, are clearly in evidence here: domination by the teacher, strong framing, unveiling of the 'ultimate mystery' only at a late stage.

The importance of considering the cultural setting of learning strategies and processes is clearly demonstrated here; Japanese pupils are not seen to encounter the same problems as the Westerner in coming to terms with the 'intuitive' learning approach, accepting its assumptions and working quietly through the stages (17). It is interesting to compare this point with the very similar one made by Castaneda (18), in finding that the Indian apprentices of the 'sorcerer' Don Juan appeared to come to terms with the basic learning process involved in becoming a sorcerer more readily than he did (19).

Teaching and Learning in Post-War Judo, 1945-65

The pattern of teaching and learning in Britain during this period reflects the pattern in Japan over a similar period, with certain variations reflecting differences between conditions in the two countries. Pedagogic practices in post-war Japanese Judo in turn reflect certain aspects of the picture given by Draeger, in relation to classical budo disciplines, but again with some points of difference.

The idea of accepting a need to learn intuitively is reflected in a comment on initial training experiences among Japanese children:

"Unlike the Japanese, Europeans generally are not prepared to practise a thing regularly without asking innumerable questions. A Japanese boy is brought up to do this. In Judo, from a very early age he goes to the dojo every day where he watches, imitates and practises with higher grades who throw him about and make no attempt to teach him" (20).

Initial training for Japanese children seems to have involved two major elements, firstly watching senior players and secondly being taught directly in a class by a teacher:

"When the teacher was not there they ran to and fro, watching experts like Daigo, Osawa, Sone and all the top Judo men in action... I realised what a wonderful opportunity it was for them, and that unconscious imitation played a great part in their training" (21).

This pattern seems to have applied particularly in large centres such as the Kodokan, where many exemplars would be available. At a slightly later stage, however, individual teacher-pupil relationships appear to have been established, particularly in the case of students showing promise. It is thus interesting that S. Matsushita, already mentioned in Chapter 3 (pages 175-6) refers to two teachers in his middle-school and high-school days (22) and to a third teacher under whom he studied later, but this last teacher refers to himself as Matsushita's 'first' teacher (23), suggesting that he was the first to establish an individual training relationship with him. This pattern of teaching and learning reflects a number of interesting points about the Japanese context of Judo. The initial stage of learning exhibits some continuity with pedagogy in classical budo disciplines, in that it assumes that learning can take place intuitively (in this case by watching expert practitioners), at the same time, however, it differs from traditional Japanese budo pedagogy in that class-groups were taught together, a practice reflecting modern Western influences on Kano's thinking, as outlined in Chapter 1 (page 44). The combination of traditional and modern elements in Kano's thinking is once again indicated here, the traditional element being the assumption of the validity of intuitive learning and the modern elements being the placing of Judo in school settings and the use of class teaching. The later stage is of a strong teacher-pupil and is a direct reflection of the 'oyabun-kobun' relationship

referred to in Chapter 3 (page 190) and is thus strongly embedded in the Japanese social structure (see Chapter 3, n.71)

It should be noted that the initial approach in Japan, allowing children to observe top players in action, was effective because of the number and quality of players in a single centre such as the Kodokan, which permitted children to see numerous examples of good Judo technique, something which would not have been possible in Britain to the same extent.

Looking at the period from the end of the Second World War up to the mid 1960s in Britain, there are certain clear reflections of Japanese examples. Some adaptations had to be made to the Japanese pattern as the average age of starting Judo in Britain was considerably higher than that in Japan (24) and given the assumption, quoted above (n.20) that Europeans would not learn intuitively (or 'passively') as would Japanese. Students usually underwent group beginners' courses (as is still the case) with a good deal of direct teaching. However, elements of Japanese influence could be seen. Thus an account of recommended practice for beginning students contains the following:

"Last of all, do not ask too many questions. The main thing is practice. When the instructor sees you making an obvious mistake he will tell you...The high grades watch the Judo carefully, but they cannot teach you with many words. When they do give a word of advice, treasure it and carry it out, practising for months if necessary" (25).

This is a good example of T.P.Leggett's views, reflecting established Japanese practice, although with some recognition of the differences between Japanese and British students.

At a slightly later stage of the student's career, however, it was quite usual for a high-grade Judoka (player) to take a particular interest in a student's progress, thus developing something of a personal pedagogic relationship. Personal observation in the early 1960s suggests that at that time there were still examples of pedagogic relationships exhibiting considerable teacher-dominance, exercised in an apparently arbitrary manner. For example, the writer observed a teacher simply telling a player (of black belt standard) to change one of his throwing techniques and practise a different one, and the player did so. Also strong control was exerted over a student's progress through the working of the grading system. As outlined in Chapter 3 (page 208), there is evidence of a strong element of personal discretion in grading procedures at this time.

Teaching and Learning in Contemporary Judo

One attempt to produce radical change in pedagogic approaches in British Judo is that in the coaching movement, which is considered in some detail below.

As far as the introduction of students to Judo is concerned, the pattern of group beginners' courses has been maintained. The training of elite contest players no longer conforms to the pattern of 'personalised' instruction in the earlier examples, however, although this is not to deny the potential importance of particular individuals in the development of a student. Rather than depending on close pedagogic relationships between individual players and individual senior grades, the training of an elite is based on a formally arranged Training Squad system, with particular Squad Trainers who relate to all the Squad members

rather than to particular individuals (Chapter 3 page 213)

Such elite training arrangements have also been made in Japan, developing during the 1960s and appearing to reflect concern particularly with training for the 1964 Olympic Games. The Japanese training for the Olympics involved a squad system, with the training programme including a number of elements of off the mat training, as described in Chapter 4 (pages 238-43) (26).

One other significant development in British Judo, which has considerable relevance to pedagogy, is the emergence of Judo in schools. While this is arguably not a topic central to this study (see Introduction, page 14), it is felt justifiable to refer to it briefly here as it is an additional indication of developments in Judo in this period. It is interesting that the British Schools Judo Association was not founded until the early part of 1964 (27), with a girls' section being introduced in April 1966 (28). By March 1967 the Association membership had reached 14000 (29), being 50000 in 1971 (30). The account produced by the Secretary of the Association after one year of its existence (31) gives some indications of emphases in approaches to Judo in schools. Thus he says:

" A phrase which I like to hear is 'Playing Judo! ' It seems to conjure up the spirit of enjoyment more than does 'practising Judo'. After all, one usually 'plays' most other sports, even though one practises the skills that go with them" (32).

This quotation is significant for two reasons. Firstly the references to 'playing' and 'enjoyment', suggest a less serious approach to Judo than that characteristic of elite groups in the 1950s. This might not be thought particularly

unusual, given that school children are involved and that the full moral/philosophical ramifications of Judo would probably not be presented to them, at least not initially; this point is taken up further below. The second reason for seeing the quotation as significant is the association in it of Judo with other sports, an approach becoming more common in the 1960s. Taking these two points together, a clearer picture of the significance of the development of Judo in British schools may be given. Thus it has been shown that, in Japan, the introduction of children to Judo was, to an extent at least, 'playful', with greater seriousness of approach developing later. However, even if Judo in Japanese schools was not initially a 'serious' activity, it would be possible, subsequently, to develop a serious moral/philosophical focus in Judo activity, as the whole social context of Judo, that is, Japanese society, would encourage this sort of commitment, or at least not put barriers in its way. On the other hand, in Britain, there was no such favourable setting, in the sense of the existence of other forms of activity in which such a focus was present (for example other Budo forms). This assertion is supported by the fact that, when Judo in Britain had such a focus, for a small group at least, it involved a 'sect' type character, with people in effect withdrawing from certain types of involvement in the wider society (see Chapter 7, page 393). The absence of a supporting or favourable social context is thus one reason why Judo in schools in Britain did not develop until Judo in this country was beginning to move away from its moral/philosophical focus towards a sport focus. This movement would mean that there would be less conflict between the approach which would be

most likely to succeed in schools and that seen to represent the essence of Judo activity, as such (a sport emphasis being central to both) than would have been the case earlier. The very setting of Judo activity in schools would be likely to involve a less 'sacred' character in the activity, as it would probably not be possible, or at least practical, to remove it to a dojo and the setting in a gymnasium, for instance, would tend to suggest the presence of Judo in the field of sport, a tendency not being so likely in Japan, where the life-forming character of activities such as Judo was established and accepted in the society.

Relationships Between 'Judo Knowledge' and 'Non-Judo Knowledge'

Certain points may now be examined in relation to the content of Judo knowledge and its relationship to 'outside' knowledge. Again, characteristics of what may be termed traditional educational transmission may be identified. One most important point, included in the concept of 'strong framing', is the degree of insulation of formally transmitted knowledge, that is the strength of the boundaries between what is deemed appropriate for transmission and what is not appropriate (33). Within the 'traditional' mode of transmission the degree of insulation is high and the boundaries are strongly defined. This may be seen as a clear characteristic also of classical Budo forms, the esoteric nature of the activity being based on a long period of secretive training, and being indicated by quotations, such as the following one referring to the 'master' stage of development:

"This attainment can be recognised by outsiders (people who are totally uninvolved in the classical disciplines) as being a supernormal achievement, but it is not possible for them to realise it from their outside position" (34).

Thus Budo knowledge is clearly taken to be insulated from 'everyday' knowledge.

Up to the early 1960s, there was a clear pattern of Judo being seen as different from apparently similar Western combat sports, notably wrestling in its various forms. Judo was considered to be 'scientifically' superior, incorporating the principle of breaking the opponent's balance, and also aesthetically superior, Judo players generally using an upright posture (which was also felt to have technical advantages). The learner was thus inducted into a 'special' world, with technical and aesthetic advantages over similar combat forms. An example of the sort of values involved here is given in an account of a contest in an international match between Britain and Belgium, involving the British player Maynard (a 3rd Dan) and the Belgian Van Cleemput (a 1st Kyu),

"The Belgian was bigger than Maynard (and could he have been a wrestler?) and from his anthropoidal crouch tried to rough up Maynard" (35).

As described in Chapter 4 (page 266) it was also in 1962 that Russia entered international Judo competition. From the point of view of this chapter the most important point about this is the effect the Russians had on the boundaries of Judo knowledge, as they had not been trained in Judo as such. An account of these championships (the 1962 European championships) contains the following comment:

"The championships are becoming more and more like wrestling with jackets on than judo. Contestants are so anxious to win titles that they cannot wait to obtain skill (which takes a long time), but depend on the quicker - but cruder - development of strength and stamina" (36).

At the end of his report, however, Gleeson makes the following recommendation:

"Train with 'outsiders'. Why not get ordinary wrestlers, give them jackets, and train together? In this way unconventional tactics could be learnt " (37).

This is a most significant step towards reducing the strength of the boundaries between Japanese and non-Japanese combat forms. It also suggests that, from the point of view of the learner, the field of approved knowledge, on which he could draw, was coming to be defined considerably more widely.

The content of Judo knowledge in the modern context seems to be characterised by weaker boundaries than in the 1950s. Thus, with the continued success in international Judo of Russian competitors, there has been more study of wrestling techniques. One of the current British team trainers has combined wrestling and judo careers at international level and three Judo champions have also held British championships in wrestling (38). A few alterations to a sentence by Bernstein illustrate the modern situation very effectively:

"Knowledge is rationally organised by the teacher and transmitted in terms of its contest efficiency. Control over such trainees stems from control over their contest careers. Such control is bureaucratic " (39).

3. Conflicting Legitimacy Claims in Judo: Two Case Studies

a) The Coaching Movement

A full-time National Coach was appointed by the British Judo Association in April 1960 (G. Gleeson), with the aim of expanding and developing a coaching scheme, notably through training and examining potential coaches. Within a few years it became apparent that the approaches to Judo activity adopted within the coaching movement were

divergent from those used in traditional Japanese approaches. In his book 'Judo For the West' (40), Gleeson proposed that Judo outside Asia should not simply follow the example of Japan, but should seek to develop techniques of, and approaches to, teaching more in keeping with the characteristics of Western people (41). Beyond this, an important point in the coaching approach was the relevance of, and the need to apply to Judo training, the findings of educational research and particularly skill-learning research. Thus there were clear trends towards integrating aspects of 'Judo knowledge' and aspects of 'non-Judo knowledge'. A few excerpts from writings over the period of the 'coaching controversy' will show the nature of the basic arguments on each side. Gleeson has suggested (42) a number of characteristics of wrestling in general, of which the first two are "poor teaching methods " and "ossification or complete lack of skill analysis" (43); his work can be seen as part of a scheme to remedy such deficiencies, in Judo at least, by analysing skill development and training methods more systematically. The application of coaching methods was described by Gleeson as follows:

"At the National Technical Conference held on 13-14 October, a demonstration of how to introduce throwing techniques to beginners was given with a class of 15 year old boys. Mr A.Wilde and Mr G.Hicks, both Area Coaches, taught this group so effectively that by the end of the sessions all the boys were practising a reasonable randori with perfect safety. This with boys who had never been on a mat prior to that day. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and if judo can be introduced to beginners in this way never again will we have the tyro leaving our sport because he is not satisfied, or doesn't progress quickly enough or because he never really does any actual judo practice for at least four weeks " (44).

A similar point is made in a letter to the 'Judo' Magazine by another member of the coaching movement:

"The Area Coaches are trying to introduce ranges of movement and techniques which are not restricted by the traditional methods of training and learning. When I started judo, fourteen years ago, I spent three whole months 'carpet bashing' (that is, practising breakfall techniques) and learning Japanese names before I was taught a throw " (45).

This quotation in itself expresses the great differences existing between the 'traditional' and 'coaching' approaches.

The coaching manner of introducing students to Judo, stressing the need for immediate activity and enjoyment, stands in stark contrast to the process outlined in the previous accounts of classical Budo training, which involve a long period of confusing and meaningless practice for the student, and it is also clearly different from the approach in Britain in the early 1950s, as is indicated by Butlers's reference to his own introduction to Judo. The coaching approach may be seen as lessening the 'sacred' nature of Judo knowledge in that the student is to be admitted immediately to some awareness of throwing techniques rather than having to wait until he has completed certain basic training, for example in breakfall techniques. The 'traditional' approach to the teaching of Judo beginners involves a period of training in breakfalls (that is, techniques of falling in ways that avoid injury when being thrown). The rationale for this is presented in the following form by Koizumi, with two main strands of argument. The first of these involves the question of safety in Judo. Thus Koizumi refers to breakfalls ('ukemi' in Japanese) as

"...the art of taking falls or throws without ill effect to the body. The wisdom of this measure is not only for safety but for the elimination of fear, the instinctive fear of being thrown which would inhibit the natural function of the body and mind " (46).

In addition, he elsewhere refers to breakfalls as

"...measures of safety (47), as "...a safety measure" (48) and "...for protective measure" (sic) (49).

The second line of argument is of a more 'philosophical' nature. Thus Koizumi, having referred to the need to avoid seeking rapid progress in Judo, and to the fact that many people are attracted to Judo initially as a 'bag of tricks' for self-defence, to be learned easily, suggests that

"...on starting to take lessons, we were to be disillusioned. The first lesson was to learn how to be thrown instead of how to throw" (50).

This idea is repeated in an obituary on Koizumi, written by T.P. Leggett:

"Again he bade us notice how people came to judo to learn how to throw, but the first thing they have to learn is how to fall. In the world, no one can be trusted to lead a successful life till he knows how to meet failure and recover " (51).

The counter-argument, presented by Gleeson, refers to the

"...fairy story that ukemi is essential to (judo) skill acquisition " (52).

He goes on:

"Let us by all means accept it (ukemi) as a part of the general Judo learning system, but not as the dominant factor in early Judo training. Surely the sole purpose of ukemi is to cover certain possible and special hazards; it is not to lay the foundation of a throwing skill" (53).

Gleeson's own approach is to teach throwing skills initially:

"After they can throw, then they can be taught how to fall. Such an approach agrees completely with the normally accepted view (in general educational circles) that skills must be learnt in the same circumstances as those in which they are to be done, and that learners must have an early success (in this case how to throw) in the skills they are learning " (54).

It is interesting that Gleeson traces the emphasis on breakfalls as the initial form of training in the traditional approach to Kano's concern to establish Judo as an 'acceptable' or 'civilised' activity. Referring to the danger of falls resulting from the 'vicious attacks' characteristic of ju-jutsu technique, Gleeson suggests that

"Kano had to convince the state educationalists that his judo was not dangerous in that kind of way...Hence his initial emphasis on breakfalls"(55).

Also, having described his own approach (as outlined above), and having stated that his approach had been in use in the coaching scheme over a period of eight years, he claims that

"So far no injuries, large or small, have been brought to my attention " (56).

The above arguments demonstrate the differences between the 'philosophical' justifications of the teaching of breakfalls in traditional Judo circles in Britain and the rational approach, influenced by educational thought, of the coaching movement.

As suggested above, the framing of Judo knowledge is weakened in the coaching approach; there is an instance known to the writer of a coach suggesting to a group of players that they should try to 'make up' or invent a throwing technique, as a form of training, an idea clearly against the conception of Judo as a body of 'received wisdom' (which may be taken as a characteristic of the 'traditional' Judo approach).

While such boundaries were being lowered, however, it seems that others were, in effect, being raised by the coaching movement (see Chapter 3, page 202). Bernstein has suggested that one change in educational practice, associated with departures from a 'traditional' approach to education, is in the growing division of labour among school staff and growing differentiation of the teacher's role (57). The coaching movement reflects just such a tendency, for example in assertions that a good Judo player would not necessarily be a good coach (58), and in the assumed need for specialised training for coaches, rather than coaching being taken on by high-grade players on the basis of their existing practical ability. The 'division of labour' is here reflected in the assumed need for the coach to learn the techniques of coaching as a separate area of study, differentiated from the learning of Judo techniques as such. The notion that knowledge acquired as a learner does not in itself necessarily give an adequate basis for teaching (that is, instruction in the techniques of teaching being required additionally) has also come to be associated, in Britain, with institutions of higher education, where it has come to be suggested that people should be trained to lecture rather than simply lecturing on the basis of their subject knowledge (59). The idea of differentiation in Judo has had relevance to possibilities of attainment within rather different areas of Judo activity. Thus the Coaching movement acted to allow players of limited practical ability to gain influence beyond that which they could have expected on the basis of their achieved grade level, for example. A clear instance of this

point is given by Garner (60):

"Many people who. like myself seem to have stuck at 1st Kyu have just been given a shot in the arm. I refer, of course, to the Coaching Award Scheme" (61).

It should be noted that such ideas would not appeal to the traditional school of thought, which would assume that high grade was both a necessary, and a sufficient, condition of teaching competence.

The problems of introducing new criteria for judging ability in coaching, in the face of traditional and conventional criteria are reflected in the treatment, by Bourdieu and Passeron (62), of such problems in the context of higher education. Thus, referring to junior university lecturers, they suggest that

"Their attempts to abandon the traditional relation to language are particularly liable to be seen as 'elementary' because the whole logic of the system tends to make them appear as so many signs of their authors' incapacity to meet the legitimate definition of the role " (63).

Again,

"There is no 'intrinsic strength of the true idea'; nor do we see grounds for the belief in the strength of the false idea, however often repeated. It is always power relations which define the limits within which the persuasive force of a symbolic power can act " (64).

The following quotation, however, indicates that, in Judo, (as would tend to happen in a university) it would be the younger practitioners who would seek to introduce new criteria:

"As it takes a certain amount of courage and freedom from past prejudices the younger coach, younger in terms of time served instructing, are (sic) generally making better progress in this form of teaching" (65).

The general controversy is thus a good example of what Bourdieu and Passeron refer to as a conflict between 'legitimacy-claiming agencies' (66) in the transmission of Judo knowledge.

In this instance, the 'conflict' took an administrative as well as a symbolic form. Thus, for example, an account of the Budokwai Annual General Meeting in October 1970 reports a motion that

"The Budokwai has no confidence in the British Judo Association Coaching system as it stands, does not intend to use it and will endeavour to put an alternative system to the BJA " (67).

While this motion was passed, the Executive Committee of the British Judo Association subsequently (November 1971) voted against conducting an investigation of the Coaching Scheme, which had been requested by the Budokwai (68). In July 1974, however, the Executive Committee voted to give the National Coach notice of termination of employment, a decision subsequently carried through, despite the holding of an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Association to consider the matter (69). This particular outcome must be viewed as involving a specific approach to a person rather than a judgement of the Coaching Scheme as a whole, but its effect seems to have been clearly to shift the Scheme to a more traditional position through the appointment, as Honorary National Coaches, of a number of people of 'traditional' Judo background (70). The main significance of the coaching movement, in terms of pedagogic approaches, is its attempt to introduce a scientific pedagogy in Judo, Referring to this as an attempted 'introduction' is not to suggest that there were no principles in the pedagogy of classical budo forms, but these were unlikely to involve any systematic or scientific theory of pedagogy, as the approach to learning characteristic of traditional (pre-Meiji) Japanese society was based on the need for students to learn intuitively, so that explicit skills

of pedagogy as such would be irrelevant. Additionally, at the time of Kano, Western pedagogic theory was arguably not developed strongly, so that his fusion of traditional and modern elements in Kodokan Judo would not have been likely to have been influenced by such approaches. However, such theory was more developed by the 1960s, although this was not reflected in pedagogic practice in British Judo until the emergence of the coaching movement. It was thus through this movement, and in particular through G.Gleeson, that an attempt was made to see Judo as an activity to which theories of skill-learning should be applied. The quotation from Gleeson on teaching breakfalls (n.54) indicates a wish to identify pedagogy in Judo with views from general educational circles.

b) Conflict between different Judo Organisations (71)

While it could be argued that the 'coaching conflict' was largely one over legitimacy of pedagogic approach, that between the organisations seems rather to have concerned 'curriculum' to some extent but particularly 'evaluation', in terms of approaches to grading standards. The Judo Magazine (published monthly) bears witness to the importance (in the short run) of this issue; for example during the years 1957 and 1958 there were sixty one items, including thirty four letters, on the subject. Some idea of the nature of the 'conflict' may perhaps be derived from some excerpts from the items referred to above. As suggested, much of the concern of writers on both sides in the conflict was with grading standards. This involved two issues, the general standards of grades given by associations other than the British Judo Association, and specific instances of players

who had attained only low grades in the British Judo Association but who attained considerably higher ones in other associations. There were, in addition, items expressing concern over the general approach and standards of different associations. For example a letter from the Secretary of Beckenham Judo Club (a British Judo Association Club), contains the following reference to the attitude of the Amateur Judo Association to certain traditional aspects of Judo practice, as expressed in an earlier newspaper article by the Secretary of the Amateur Judo Association, Mr P. Butler:

"Mr Butler states that he would like to cut out the formalities of Judo - such as bowing to one's opponent and using English terminology instead of Japanese. It is quite evident that he has not grasped the fundamental principles of the study of Judo. For it is, as we all know, a mental as well as a physical culture and to deprive this great study of its traditions and ceremonies is, to say the least, a great disservice to the art" (72).

Much of the concern from the British Judo Association side was, however, with what was seen as the dilution of grading standards in other associations. An example is given in one of the regular articles in the Judo Magazine, 'Whispers in the Wild' (73):

"The AJA membership includes a number of people who have just been waiting for an association that would give recognition to their egoism in preference to their skill in Judo. Several Judoka have tried to claim Dan grade and have been proved on the mat to be unworthy of the grade. The BJA only recognises skill in practice, theory and fundamental principles of teaching not 'people who try to build themselves up to be what they are not ' " (74).

This is typical of such writings and may be interpreted as indicating a concern for the 'sacred' nature of Judo knowledge and the standards involved in its evaluation. The response of members of other associations is exemplified by a letter to the Judo magazine by Mr P. Butler (as previously referred

to, the Secretary of the Amateur Judo Association) :

"Regarding myself, my grade was indeed 4th Kyu BJA - but this was many years ago and I presume at one stage of his life even Kano must have been 6th Kyu. Since that time I have done a little Judo and am an accredited instructor on the following official panels - LCC, Croydon Education Committee, Surrey County Council " (75).

The 'coaching conflict' and the associations conflict' are thus taken here as reflections of the point made by bourdieu and Passeron in relation to claims to legitimacy in the sphere of education. With reference to relationships between associations, it is interesting to note that the issue seems to have remained alive up to recent times, at least, although there are indications of a change, or at least a shift of emphasis, in the issues involved. A reference in the British Judo Association 'Newsletter' feature in the Judo Magazine suggests a shift in the arguments involved from relatively 'sacred' issues of the standards of Judo to rather more 'profane' issues, in this case, the organisational problems of obtaining government funds for Judo when several associations were in existence:

"Grant aid helps but the Association has to find the greater part of the money to provide training and events through the year. Other sports in Britain enjoy much more funds (sic) available for the training of their top stars but they are sports that do not have a great number of splinter organisations to compete with " (76).

It is not, however, suggested that arguments have shifted completely to such matters; as recently as 1974 a case was reported of a Judo player being suspended from the British Judo Association for holding membership simultaneously in the Amateur Judo Association (dual membership being forbidden in the British Judo Association Constitution), although he

was later reinstated after giving an apology to the British Judo Association (77).

Conclusion

Bringing together material from the first section of the chapter, on pedagogic relationships, and from the first part of the third section, on the coaching movement, it is possible to identify three different situations within which pedagogic relationships are set, in martial arts and ways. The first is that of the classical Budo disciplines. While pedagogy in such disciplines has been compared here with points from Bernstein's account of what is here referred to as a 'traditional pedagogy', in effect it lies outside this approach, being based more on a 'master-disciple' relationship than on a 'teacher-pupil' relationship, and being situated away from any context like that of even a 'traditional' educational institution. However, the pedagogic relationship in such disciplines is of interest as it demonstrates, in a strongly heightened form, some important characteristics to be found in traditional school pedagogy. The hierarchical nature of the master-disciple relationship is made explicit, but the pattern of the sequence of learning is known only to the master and can hardly be said even to be implicit in the learning process, being so completely under the personal control of the master. The master's knowledge is unchallengeable and the disciple is completely dependent on the master, modelling himself on his example solely; independence can be achieved only at the end of a long period of dependence. Indeed, to achieve independence it is necessary to complete the four stages of training previously mentioned, so that the trainee can become a master himself,

and can 'use' Budo knowledge, creating new forms of technique. It is an interesting comment on the previously mentioned example of a Judo coach suggesting that his students should attempt to make up techniques that Draeger states:

"And within the genius of any master lies the ability to design new kata that are both meaningful and lasting. Such attempts by less skilled persons are but meaningless efforts of self-deception " (78).

The transition to master status is not without problems, however; Draeger suggests that there is some sadness when the trainee realises that he must ultimately achieve independence of the master (79). There is once again here a parallel with Castaneda's account of the 'sorcerer's apprenticeship', in the feelings of sadness and indeed, some apparent confusion, reported by Castaneda at the point of his attainment of 'warrior' status (80).

Bernstein's 'traditional' school approach is, however, directly applicable to pedagogic relationships in British Judo in the early post-war period; the quotation from Leggett suggests that the nature of the transmission process was left implicit, with the hierarchical nature of the relationship made explicit. Further, the points made about the grading system show the strong control over sequencing and pacing held by teachers. The attempt to make a transition from this traditional approach to a more progressive one is marked by the development of the coaching movement in the 1960s. Against a background of lowered barriers between 'Judo knowledge' and 'non-Judo knowledge', that is an element of weaker framing, the coaching movement itself advocated weaker framing in effect, attempting to introduce students to the principles of

Judo more rapidly, even allowing them a creative role in attempts to produce 'new' knowledge themselves. Over the period of the development of the coaching approach the 'Judo population' in Britain grew considerably (for example the number of adult players registered with the British Judo Association more than doubled over the period 1960-68), giving a clear impetus to the process of division of labour referred to in describing the coaching approach. This division of labour meant a change in the authority basis of the teacher. Rather than combining the roles of 'executor' and 'teacher' of Judo, and thus being able to command respect from students on the basis of practical competence, if for no other reason, the coach, whose level of practical competence was not necessarily high, (and for the effectiveness of whose teaching a high degree of competence was not thought important) had to appeal to the effectiveness of pedagogic principles to give his teaching legitimacy, thus requiring the development of a 'theorising of practice', provided, in this case, by reference to the existing body of general educational theory.

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- (2) Ibid., pages 3, 4 and 6
- (3) Ibid., pages 89-90
- (4) Ibid., page 97
- (5) Draeger, D., "Classical Budo", Weatherhill, 1973
- (6) Ibid., pages 43-65
- (7) Ibid., page 43
- (8) 'Frame' is seen by Bernstein as referring to "...the form of the context in which knowledge is transmitted and received (op.cit., page 88), that is to pedagogical relationships. It involves the degree of control of teacher and taught over what is transmitted, when and how (Ibid., pages 88-90).
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- (10) Ibid., page 54
- (11) Ibid., page 58
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- (13) Ibid., page 59
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- (17) Ibid., pages 49-50
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- (32) Ibid., pages 6-7
- (33) Bernstein, op.cit., page 89
- (34) Draeger, op.cit., page 59
- (35) Gleeson, G., "Britain V Belgium", Judo, Vol. 6, No. 12, September 1962, page 29
- (36) Gleeson, G., "Essen 1962", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 70, July 1962, page 5
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- (38) R.Barracclough, R.Bradley and G.Kerr - all of these were competing in the 1960s or the 1970s.
- (39) Based on Bernstein, op.cit., page 63. The original reads: "Knowledge is rationally organised by the teacher and transmitted in terms of its examination efficiency. Control over such pupils stems from control over their occupational or higher educational fate. Such control is bureaucratic".
- (40) Gleeson, G., "Judo For the West", Kaye and Ward, 1967
- (41) Ibid., page 13
- (42) Gleeson, G., "Anatomy of Judo", Kaye & Ward, 1969
- (43) Ibid., page 7
- (44) Gleeson, G., "Coaching Notes", Judo, Vol. 7, No. 2, November 1962, page 19

- (45) Butler, J.V., Letter to 'Judo', Judo, Vol. 10, No. 3, December 1965, page 16
- (46) Koizumi, "My Study of Judo", op.cit., page 26. A very similar argument is presented in the 'Illustrated Kodokan Judo' (op.cit., page 48): "'Ukemi' is the system which enables you to fall safely and easily. That is, to avoid shock or injury from violent impact against the mat or ground whether you fall alone or thrown by your opponent". Again, "The breakfall may be said to be not only an indispensable basic technique for the practice of throwing, but it is also a basic technique for the whole of Judo" (Ibid., page 48).
- (47) Koizumi, "My Study of Judo", op.cit., page 29
- (48) Ibid., page 41
- (49) Ibid., page 43
- (50) Ibid., page 186
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- (66) Bourdieu and Passeron, op.cit., for example page 19
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- (72) Little, B., Letter to 'Judo', Judo, Vol. 1, No. 6, March 1957, page 26
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- (75) Butler, P., Letter to 'Judo', Judo, Vol. 2, No. 7, May 1958, page 25
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CHAPTER 6

RULES AND REFEREEING IN BRITISH JUDO

The Sociological Study of Rules in Sport

The study of the rules of different sports and of their relationship to the operation of the sports in question is quite well established within the Sociology of Sport, although it has not received as much attention as have some other areas of study in the discipline. Five examples may be quoted, illustrating some of the approaches involved. McIntosh (1) suggests that, with the spread of association football in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the influx of players whose conduct on the field might not be adequately controlled by the 'gentlemanly code' which had previously sufficed without formal backing, more formal mechanisms of control were required. The introduction of the 'foul' in 1880 (2), of a referee outside the field of play in the rules of 1881 and, 'some years later' of a referee on the field (3) and the introduction of the penalty kick in 1890 (4) illustrate this development. This study is of considerable relevance (although not providing direct parallels) to questions of changes in Judo rules; in the latter case it is not a matter of the class background of participants putting 'pressure' on the rules so much as changes in general approaches to contests, as considered in Chapter 4.

Another issue relevant to the examination of changes in the contest-rules of Judo is considered by Riesman and Denney (5), that is the relationship between rules and the 'spectator-appeal' of a sport. They refer, in the context of American football, to the introduction, in 1882, of a

"...minumum yardage-gain rule" (6),

through which

"...the rule-makers assured the frequent interchange of the ball between sides " (7),

preventing either team monopolising possession of the ball.

The question of the attractiveness of a sport to spectators is also considered by Elias and Dunning (8), relating rules to the concept of 'tension-balance' in a sport. This involves the maintenance of a degree of uncertainty in the outcome of a match (9) and the maintenance of a balance between sufficient orderliness and sufficient excitement in a match (10). An example of a rule-change made to affect tension-balance is given with the change, in 1925, of the offside law in association football, to encourage attacking play (11).

The issue of rules being used to increase spectator-appeal, set in the context of professional sport in America, is examined by Furst (12). His argument relating to this question may be summarised in the following quotation:

"Whenever a sport does not seem able to sustain previous levels of interest, the creative sport entrepreneurs will endeavour to implement changes in the rules or the format of the game. The recent changes in the strike zone and the lowering of the mound in baseball would attest this idea. Rule-changes in the last twenty years in hockey, basketball and football would also support this notion " (13).

The question of the rules of contest Judo in relation to its spectator appeal, and of possible changes in the rules to enhance that appeal, is dealt with below (pages 336-8).

A recent study, involving greater empirical detail than is found in the earlier ones quoted, is that by Dunning and Sheard, on the development of Rugby Football (14). Their references to the nature of rules and to changes in rules show that a range of information about a game and its context

can be derived from studying rules. Thus, for example, information about the nature of Rugby football is inferred from rules (15), as is information about social attitudes to violence and the use of physical force (16). Also particular processes in the setting of the game (a process of democratisation in Rugby School) are reflected in the rules (17).

The rules of a sport can thus provide indications of the moral and technical boundaries of the sport; in the case of Judo, its relationship with various types of wrestling may be indicated by the form of particular rules. As is shown below, shifts of emphasis within Judo activity, for example towards greater stress on contests, may be indicated by changes in rule-formulations, while certain procedures relating to the rules (for example the introduction of running scoreboards - see page 336) are of great importance in terms of the changing position of Judo relative to the field of sport. Finally, a willingness to consider changes in the rules, for instance to increase the attractiveness of Judo to spectators, is of great significance as an indication that the activity itself is less 'sacred' than previously, and is more manipulable, for the sake of particular interests.

Areas of Importance in the Rules of Judo Contests

These studies give an indication of those areas which will be relevant to the study of rules in Judo. Firstly, changes over time in the rules of Judo contests will be examined, to see what they may reveal about changes in emphasis within Judo in general. Secondly, the modern rules will be viewed in relation to techniques and tactics in contemporary Judo, and thirdly rules will be viewed in relation to the issue of spectator-appeal. After this the

development of the refereeing system and certain issues in refereeing will be covered. The rules which will be considered here are those which have applied on a wide basis within Judo. Although the British Judo Association and the European Judo Union have formulated rules at times, in recent years International Judo Federation (I.J.F.) rules have been used in important competitions in this country; in earlier years (up to the mid 1960s) the rules laid down by the Kodokan in Tokyo were the most influential ones in Britain and abroad. Rule-changes will thus be considered in relation to Kodokan rules and then in relation to different I.J.F. formulations.

Looking at rules in general, examining ways in which they have changed, a number of points in different formulations of rules will be examined in particular. Rules must be viewed in close connection with the ways in which contest-play has changed in Judo over time. As indicated in Chapter 4, one clear trend in post-war Judo has been a change from a view of contests as merely a part of Judo activity, significant but not to be allowed to 'get out of proportion', to a view of contests as the predominant element in Judo activity, with developments in training to improve contest performance and with extensions of what contest tactics are taken to involve. Given such a trend, the motivations of players to seek victory more keenly, particularly with the development of prestigious international competitions, might be expected to put some pressure on the rules, in the sense of a wish on the part of players to have the conditions under which they are seeking victory clearly laid down. That is, one might expect a process of increasing specification to take place in the rules. Examination of a series of formulations

of the rules (18) indicates that, over time, rules have been made more 'specific' and have been given a more 'operational' form. Rules may be looked at in terms of two aspects, firstly the principles embodied in them and secondly the ways in which the rules are drafted to allow these principles to be operationalised, permitting effective interpretation by referees and clarifying the competitive context for the players. They may also be examined in terms of certain interests, for example that of safety (of competitors) or that of spectator appeal. Thus the significant elements of continuity and change in the different formulations of the rules will be examined in the light of the following points; the principles (including moral principles) underlying the rules, the changing ways in which these principles have been operationalised and finally the relevance of specific rule-changes to the question of the appeal of Judo to spectators.

The Technical and Moral Boundaries of Judo

A basic point about rules in any sport is that they will outline the 'boundaries' of the sport and indicate the principles according to which it operates. The rules of Judo will, therefore, outline how Judo is defined as a sport-form. Formulations of the rules of international contest Judo have been relatively stable in terms of the foci identifiable within them (the contents of different formulations are considered below). Thus certain rules may be classed as 'administrative', relating to dimensions of the contest area, costume, duration of contest etc, while others are 'technical', relating to the judgement of effective technique and the scoring structure in particular; others again may be classed

as 'moral', involving prohibited acts and penalties relating to them, thus outlining the area of deviant behaviour and of sanctions against it. The second and third of these areas are of particular importance in the analysis of Judo rules, as they are both relevant to concern with victory and to the degree to which a stress on winning may put a strain on contestants' internal restraint.

All the formulations of the rules considered here indicate the scope of Judo in technical terms. In the 1929 Kodokan version, the seventh rule reads:

"In a contest, only throws, locks and holds shall be employed " (19),

while in the 1979 I.J.F. formulation, Article 7 is:

"The result of a contest shall be judged only on the basis of nage-waza (throwing techniques) and katame-waza (grappling techniques) " (20).

In a more specific way, examination of acts prohibited by the rules also points to the boundaries of Judo in terms of acceptable actions. There are 28 such prohibited acts in the 1979 rules; of these ten appeared in all five formulations considered here, ten appeared in four (1953-79), five appeared in three formulations (1967-79) and three appeared only in the 1979 rules. There has thus been considerable continuity in the area of prohibited acts. This is significant in suggesting that the tone of Judo has not been steadily civilised over time, in terms of 'softening' its contest conduct in relation to levels of permitted violence. However, the notion of a civilising process may still be relevant to Judo. Thus it can be seen that Jigoro Kano was instrumental in civilising Jujutsu in his formulation of Kodokan Judo in its basic technical form (see Chapter 1, pages 49-50).

Accounts of Jujutsu contests suggest strongly that they involved a level of violence beyond that which would be felt permissible in modern Judo (21). It is, however, also apparent that in the period when Kano was attempting to establish Kodokan Judo against the various remaining Jujutsu schools, he was prepared to tolerate higher levels of violence than were found once Kodokan Judo had become established. Thus a reminiscence of an early Kodokan member (Sakujiro Yokoyama) relating to contests against various Jujutsu exponents, involves the following point:

"There were no rules in this sort of contest; it would continue until one contestant was unconscious or had an arm, leg, or wrist broken. These bombastic individuals, (that is the Jujutsu exponents) who were always defeated and carried quietly away, gradually ceased to bother the Kodokan " (22).

This does not mean, however, that, once established, Kodokan Judo was not a far more civilised form than Jujutsu had been. Indeed, Yokoyama's own experience of violence seems to have produced in him an awareness of the importance of civilised conduct:

"To him, etiquette, or a code of behaviour, was essential...to prevent foolish actions. Mr Yokoyama considered that yudansha (Dan grade) contests should be examples of model behaviour " (23).

Looking at the prohibited acts which have appeared in every set of rules (and which have, therefore, been lasting concerns), certain limitations on 'what Judo is' become apparent, the following being some of the forbidden actions: putting a hand or foot on the opponent's face (thus cutting out any possibility of 'striking' techniques), locks on any joints other than the elbow, squeezing the opponent's trunk,

neck or head with the legs, bending the opponent's fingers to break his grip, action on the opponent's spine (all of which may be taken to distinguish Judo from other forms of wrestling, in which some or all of them may be permitted). A number of these points may be seen as being concerned with the safety of the competitors; while this is a justifiable assumption, it is not simply a question of basic physical safety. Thus safety considerations operate within the context of a set of moral rules about what is seen as reasonable as a part of Judo. That is, there are accepted aspects of Judo which will, by some standards, endanger the safety of the competitors (admittedly not seriously); for example, a very heavy throw onto the back, or a partially successful throw (onto the shoulder or head) may cause injury, although being quite legitimate in terms of the rules, any injuries resulting in such circumstances probably being seen as accidental. On the other hand, some possibly dangerous practices are cut out of the rules as they are not taken to fall within the moral boundaries of Judo. Limitations on acceptable techniques, from the point of view of safety (within its moral context) are an indication of the way in which Judo has moved away from being a fighting form and into the category of sport, with competition kept to a symbolic form in comparison with actual fighting conditions. In a similar way to that in Judo, in boxing hitting the opponent is not in itself prohibited, but there are limitations on how and where (on the body) the opponent may be hit, while referees will protect a boxer from 'excessive punishment', as they will, in Judo, stop a strangle or armlock once it appears to be

taking effect, even if the player involved does not signal his submission.

There are other prohibited acts which have a clear moral significance. One prohibition appearing in all rule-formulations relates to 'keeping away from' or 'avoiding taking hold of' the opponent, closely related to that referring to 'adopting an excessively defensive attitude' (or 'posture'); these may be said to involve moral notions about committing oneself properly to the contest, perhaps against a potentially superior opponent, and not avoiding such commitment (which might have connotations of 'lack of moral fibre' or 'unmanly behaviour'). Other examples, of a general type, relate to making 'unnecessary' (or 'meaningless') cries, remarks or gestures to the opponent (appearing in formulations from 1953 onwards and clearly relevant to notions of 'proper behaviour'), to making any action 'against the spirit of Judo' (also appearing from 1953 onwards and indicating a moral content in the idea of the 'spirit of Judo', which might be infringed and to disregarding the referee's instructions' (first appearing in 1967 and significant because of the implied correct relationship to authority, in the form of the referee).

Specification and Operationalisation in the Rules of Judo Contests

The rules thus incorporate a number of basic principles defining the content of Judo and the morally acceptable manner of taking part in Judo contests. With such principles, however, in this context, there is a need for them to be operationalised, and it has been suggested here that, over time, rules have become more specific in terms of how the

principles are to be made operational. One of the clearest examples of this process relates to prohibited acts, through the development of penalties. In the 1929 Kodokan rules, article 18 runs:

"When a competitor repeats the acts stipulated under Rule No. 17 after being warned, the contest shall be stopped and judgement shall be entered against him " (24),

while the 1953 formulation is similar in form:

"A contestant shall be made a 'Hansoku-make' (loss by violation of rules), if he violates any major itmes of the prohibited acts, or if he violates any item repeatedly in disregard of the warnings given by the Referee " (25),

A major innovation was introduced in 1967, however, with penalties of different degrees of severity, that is 'shido' ('note'), 'chui' ('caution'), 'keikoku' ('warning') and hansoku-make (26), which would operate so that a repeated chui infringement would lead to a keikoku, for example. The different grades of penalty are, naturally, associated with different grades of rule-infringement; thus a shido is associated with 'slight' infringements of rules, a chui with 'moderate' infringements (or repeated slight infringements, as indicated above), a keikoku with 'serious' infringements (or repeated moderate infringements) and a hansoku-make with 'very grave' infringements (or repeated serious infringements) (27). One of the most significant of all the developments in the rules occurs in the 1974 formulation (28), with the introduction of the idea of 'non-combativity' (29). The important point about this idea is not that it involves a new principle in the rules, but that it gives an established principle a new operational basis. Thus in the 1929 rules one of the prohibited acts

is 'using an over-defensive attitude' (30), and a similar idea has remained through other formulations. In the 1974 rules the 'state of non-combativity', in the Commentary on Article 30 (prohibited acts), is in fact related to an act (1) of that article, that is

"To adopt an excessively defensive attitude" (31). In addition an operational definition of non-combativity is given, the state being taken to exist

"...when in general for 20 to 30 seconds there there has been no attacking moves on the part of one or either (sic) or both contestants. This period may be prolonged or shortened depending upon the circumstances" (32).

This definition is retained in the 1979 rules, with the additional point that the provisions of the article do not relate to groundwork (33). While reference has been made to the relevance of stress on winning to the nature of rule-formulation, the non-combativity regulation cannot be seen as a reflection of conditions relating purely to 'modern' approaches to contest. As has been indicated (Chapter 4), inactivity, possibly as a tactical ploy, can be found in Judo contests in the 1950s; to quote one example here, a report of the final contest in the 1958 World Championships contains the following:

"Towards the end the contest became very dull indeed - but remember this was a twenty-minute final " (34).

There is no reference in the account of this contest to any action by the referee and the writer's reference to the length of the final suggests that such 'dullness' was to be expected in such circumstances. The development of the non-combativity idea should rather, then be seen as a

response to a perceived need to increase the appeal of Judo to spectators. This idea comes out strongly in the following comment on the initial formulation of the non-combativity regulation, suggesting that it was seen as an

"...effort to encourage more action during contests and to present the sport more favourably to the spectator " (35).

Returning to the development of penalties in general, one development in the 1979 rules is the association of different prohibited acts as such with different penalties, by which they would normally be penalised, rather than, as in the two earlier formulations, a penalty being graded according to the gravity of the infringement of any of the rules covered in Article 30. Thus ten offences are seen as being 'slight' offences, to be penalised by a shido, five as 'moderate', to be punished by chui, eleven as 'serious', to be punished by keikoku and two as 'very serious', to be punished by hansoku-make (36). These categories of seriousness have thus been shifted from the nature of the act of infringement to the nature of the offence. In general, the offences in the first group are of a 'technical' nature, with no great 'safety' implications, those in the second have rather more significance in terms of danger of injury and those in the third have greater importance in terms of possible injury (37) and in 'moral' terms (38). This group also contains the prohibited act which is, perhaps, of the greatest significance in modern Judo, in conjunction with that relating to non-combativity (39), that is

"To intentionally force the opponent to go outside the contest area or to go outside the contest area FOR ANY REASON other than while applying a technique started in the contest area or except as a result of a technique or action of the opponent " (40).

As with non-combativity, it cannot be argued that the second part of the above rule, that is leaving the contest area intentionally, is solely a 'modern' ploy, instances being found in the early 1960s:

"The next contest had nothing to commend it. Metzler of Germany met Sone of Japan. As soon as they took hold the German rushed his opponent to the side of the mat and fell off " (41).

The response of the referee is, however, a clear reflection of the state of the rules at the time (where the offence was included in the rules but the scale of penalties was not in force:

"After the same thing had happened three times in succession the referee stopped the contest and warned the German that his conduct was against the rules " (42).

The form of words in this quotation is perhaps of some significance, as is the state of the rule involved at the time, compared with that in the present day. Thus the 'warning' may be seen as reflecting an expectation that internal moral controls would be found in players, an expectation in turn reflecting the state of Judo in Britain, (and also presumably in other European countries and Japan, as the rules were used throughout the world) at the time, with a strong moral content, as outlined in Chapter 4. The imposition of penalties, bringing in external controls, may be taken as a reflection of a change in Judo, with the apparent loss of the earlier moral code and an increase in

competitive pressure. It appears, however, that in the instance cited above, the German player was not influenced by the warning (43). By contrast, in more recent contests, the question of staying within the contest area has become a significant one from a tactical point of view. While evasive tactics were used on occasion before, say the 1970s (and penalties could be enforced for infringing the relevant rule from 1967 onwards), considerations of tactics and the wish to avoid defeat (rather than accepting it as a 'sporting possibility', as may have applied in the Budokwai in the 1920s) have meant that a good deal of action in modern contests has tended to take place near the edge of the contest area, so that, for example, if an attempted throwing technique is unsuccessful, the competitor involved would be in a position to avoid a counter-throw or an attack in groundwork, as it could easily seem that he was leaving the contest area as a result of the opponent's action (and not 'escaping' over the mat edge, which might actually be the case). The tactical significance of what is termed 'playing the edge' of the mat has been referred to in Chapter 4; to repeat a quotation given there:

"It was very difficult to decide with such experienced tacticians who was at fault, Roy for persistently stepping out, or Brian for pushing. Both are clever enough actors to make it look as if the other had been the cause " (44).

Returning to the 1979 categorising of offences, the fourth and final group contains only two examples. One of these is clearly significant in terms of physical safety:

"To intentionally fall backwards when the other contestant is clinging to your back and when either contestant has control of the other's movement " (45),

while the other relates to what has been termed 'nose-diving' throwing techniques. The significance of this rule is discussed on page 343 .

The development of a system of penalties in the rules of contest Judo is thus an important indication of the process of operationalising rules involving moral principles.

One other more 'technical' or 'administrative' area in which a process of specification has been apparent is that of scoring in Judo contests. Two aspects of this general area will be examined here, firstly that of the number of grades of score which can be registered in a contest and secondly that relating to possible scores made at the very end of a contest. The 1929 Kodokan rules make no explicit reference to different grades of score, only laying down the conditions under which a throw is judged to be successful, namely that it results from an 'intentional action' (46) and that,

"Broadly speaking, the throwee shall fall on his back" (47),

with a 'certain momentum' (48). The 1953 Kodokan rules, however, refer to 'ippon' ('full-point') techniques, 'waza-ari' ('half' or 'near' point) techniques and to techniques close to waza-ari, which would not be announced by the referee at the time of their execution, but which would be taken into account in arriving at a decision (49). An elaboration of the scoring structure comes in the 1967 rules, with the mention of the 'minor' scores of 'waza-ari ni chikai waza' (almost 'waza-ari') and 'kinsa' ('small advantage') (50);

again, however, these were not announced by the referee but could be taken in account for decisions. The 1974 rules include a highly important change in procedure relating to scoring. This involves the replacement of the waza-ari ni chikai waza and the kinsa by the 'yuko' ('almost waza-ari') and the 'koka' ('almost yuko') respectively (51), both of these scores being announced by the referee(52).

These developments have significance from two points of view, that of contest tactics and that of spectator appeal. Both of these are dependent, to a considerable extent, on the development of the 'running scoreboard', on which scores and penalties are recorded and displayed (at the edge of the contest area). The idea of these scoreboards was put forward by Hoare (53) and scoreboards were developed in relation to the inclusion in the 1974 rules of a reference to the referee and judges being assisted by a 'contest recorder',

"...who shall visibly record in writing or by means of a suitable apparatus, all scores and penalties announced by the referee" (54).

The scoreboards are described by Reay as follows:

"Each clock (the scoreboards were initially referred to as 'timing clocks') will have two indicator boards which will give to the competitor - and the spectator, a complete rundown of the progress of the contest " (55).

The above quotation refers to benefits both for the competitor and for the spectator, which correspond to the points made previously about tactics and spectator appeal, in relation to scoreboards. From the point of view of tactics, the running scoreboards are important in that they allow the contestants to see their position in the contest exactly, whether they are leading on points or not and how much leeway they need

to make up to regain a lead. Thus, instead of having to make numerous attacks because they are not sure how the judges will interpret their previous efforts, players can limit their efforts (bearing in mind the non-combativity regulation), not taking too many risks in attacking, with the attendant possibility of their attacks being countered.

Running scoreboards are also, however, clearly of benefit from the point of view of spectators, indeed both of the subsequent comments recorded in 'Judo' Magazine on this topic stress the reaction of spectators. The first of these is made in a report of the 1974 British Open Championships, the first occasion on which the scoreboards were used in this country:

"...by the time we had arrived at the finals, the crowd particularly in relation to these clocks was quite excited. The new pattern of crowd behaviour for example, in an exciting final, was noticeable when they joined in the last 10 seconds of the count-down which all adds to the atmosphere" (56).

Also,

"Any decision during the course of a contest made by a referee is immediately recorded on the score board and the judges are certainly kept on their toes by the reactions of the crowd on such a decision " (57).

The role of the crowd here, representing modern conditions in Judo is certainly a departure from conditions operating in the 1950s (58). The second comment comes in a report of the 1975 World Championships:

"The new Longines scoreboard certainly makes it easier for the public to follow the match and see at any time who has the advantage. In the old days of simple ippons and waza-aris there was not too much problem, but nowadays with kokas, yukos and a host of different penalties it was really getting too complicated and judo lost what little popularity it had as a spectator sport. Charles Palmer has done us all a favour

in designing these scoreboards " (59).

The introduction of the running scoreboard has thus had the effect of making the progress of contests more public and in this way it represents another aspect of Judo's movement into the field of sport, in the sense that many other popular sports make arrangements to keep spectators informed of the progress of an event, often in the form of a scoreboard. Modern contests may be contrasted with those in the 1950s and 1960s, where a good deal of knowledge of Judo was required for any understanding of the progress of contests; this would clearly be an obstacle to the development of Judo as a spectator sport, given that much of the action in Judo contests is not necessarily immediately dramatic or 'meaningful' to the lay spectator.

The question of the number of grades of score involved in Judo contests is thus of considerable significance in a number of ways. In general terms an increase in the number of grades of score reflects an increase in stress on winning, so that results of contests are clarified, the notion of 'successful attack' being more fully operationalised and decisions being easier to make (producing decisive outcomes of contests). In addition, the increase in categories of score has been shown to have, with the introduction of running scoreboards, significance for contest tactics and for spectator appeal.

The second issue to be examined in relation to rules on scoring is that of attempted throws occurring at the end of the contest period, and whether they will be accepted as legitimate or not. The first reference in the rules to this question comes in the 1953 Kodokan rules:

"Any technique applied simultaneously with the signal notifying expiration of the time limit shall be judged as valid " (60).

While this is a clear statement, giving a firm basis for interpretation of the rule, it is elaborated in subsequent formulations. Thus, while the wording of the rule comparable with that quoted above is very similar, the following commentary is added:

"Although a throwing technique may be applied simultaneously with the bell, if the referee decides that it will not be effective immediately he should announce sore-made ('that is all', the signal for the end of the contest) " (61),

which may be seen as an operational elaboration, covering one situation which might be problematic for a referee, that is the question of how far the contest might be allowed to go 'into overtime' following a technique initiated before the end of the contest; while such a period of a second or two would not be a problem, an attempted technique lasting several minutes (which is, admittedly improbable) would clearly stretch the reasonableness of the contest extending beyond time. The 1974 rules contain another elaboration, following the basic statement of the rule:

"Further, any technique applied after the ringing of the bell or other device to indicate the expiry of the time of the contest shall not be valid, even if the referee has not at that time called sore-made" (62);

this again relates to the operational definitions involved in this issue. In this case the question is that of what the 'end of the contest' means in practice; it could be seen either in terms of the mechanical measure of the clock or in terms of the human measure of the referee's call of sore-made. In the 1974 rule, the former is chosen, once

again elaborating and clarifying a possibly contentious point. As has been stated before, such a search for clarity is likely to accompany a process of increasing stress on winning in competition, in the way in which this has been discussed (see Chapter 4).

Suggested Changes in the Rules of Contest Judo During the 1960s

It is not surprising that, in addition to the changes which have been made in the rules, as outlined above, there have been other ideas put forward about possible changes, sometimes of a quite radical nature. One example, which helps to define certain basic aspects of 'Judo philosophy' relates to the number of points which should decide a contest. As is indicated above, all the formulations of the rules considered here have involved one-point contests. The significance of this system is that it is a reflection, albeit a pale one, of the idea of a Judo contest being a symbolic 'fight to the death', a technique which scores a full-point being such that the person succeeding with it would probably be in a position to kill or disable his opponent (63). While it is clear that Judo in its contemporary form is primarily a competitive sport, with only a few vestiges of its original fighting significance, the one-point basis of contests remains. However, the idea of deciding contests on a 'multi-point' basis has been put forward, with expressions of the idea being concentrated in the second half of the 1960s. The first recorded example comes in December 1966 and includes two clear lines of argument on the topic:

"Frequently it is heard among judo spectators 'How boring judo is', with a few exceptions. Should not the rules be changed to make judo more exciting? Judo must be one of the few sports, if not the only one, which does not allow the competitor to make a mistake, surely rather a perfectionist attitude? All other sports allow mistakes to happen, but encourage the man to make up the deficiency by scoring more points. Why not in judo too?"(64).

The two themes evident here are, firstly, the relevance of rules to the attractiveness of Judo to spectators and, secondly, the question of whether Judo should be distinctive in its approach to scoring. In the second case, the answer to the question at the end of the above quotation would be provided, from the traditional point of view, by the idea of Judo being a combat sport in which victory has symbolic significance in 'life and death' terms.

There are two references in 'Judo' Magazine to experiments with 'multi-point' scoring systems, both in 1968. The first, in Yugoslavia, involved fifteen-minute matches, with an unlimited number of points to be scored during that time. There were, on this occasion, considerable variations in the degree of one-sidedness in the different contests, but one response to the idea of multi-point scoring comes in the report of the most 'uneven' of them:

"The crowd filled the Belgrade Youth Hall, to watch the exhibition, and frankly, they were delighted by the tournament. Judo experts, on the contrary, were not so happy to see the challenger thrown for 9 ippons, 2 waza-aris, and innumerable (sic) chikai-waza and kinsa, in one contest " (65).

The second report is of a proposed experiment, in the British Schools Judo Association Championships for 1969. The report of the proposal is significant, however, as the writer puts forward arguments against the proposal:

"In fact, I fear that the introduction of this system will lead to the possibility of increased injuries among contestants" (66).

The proposed system referred to here involved a maximum of five points being scored by either player, and the writer makes the following point about what a one-sided contest might involve:

"Apart from scaring him (one of the contestants, in this case a schoolboy) half to death, he could sustain cumulative damage in the process" (67).

While the point about 'scaring' the opponent might apply particularly to junior players, being thrown repeatedly would be unlikely to increase any player's attachment to Judo. The report of the 1969 Schools Championships (in which the experiment was to take place), however, makes no reference to the system having been introduced, which suggests strongly that it was not actually used (68).

A final comment on this aspect of scoring comes in the article already referred to in relation to the mass media and Judo (69). This includes a statement in line with what has been referred to here as the traditional approach to the one-point contest:

"I personally feel that the 'sudden death' nature of judo should stay - judo is a combat sport and it is of the nature of combat that there should be a 'sudden death'. Boxing has its knock-out for example " (70),

but goes on to propose that only certain types of technique should be regarded as decisive:

"A submission from an armlock or strangle is very decisive whereas a hold-down is hardly that at all " (71)

and concludes that contests might (on an experimental basis) be decided by one point from a submission, but by more than one from throws and/or hold downs (72). As yet, however,

no changes have been introduced in this aspect of the rules. This does not necessarily indicate that the traditional view is still dominant in contemporary Judo, however, as the one-point contest can be seen to have a dramatic appeal, turning the 'sudden death' idea to advantage, from the point of view of spectator interest. It may also be that other changes in the rules (for example the introduction of running scoreboards) have helped to increase spectator appeal to some extent, so that the pressure to reform the points basis of contests has been reduced. Further, the tension-balance of a Judo contest would be adversely affected if it became obvious early in the contest that one player was greatly superior but that the contest still had to run its full distance. As a final point, it is perhaps rather unrealistic to attach too much importance to the decisive win by ippon and to rules relating to that possibility. That is, as the scoring-structure has been extended, with small scores (yuko and koka) being recorded, tactics have taken account of this, safety in techniques becoming important. Thus, throwing techniques have developed in a way which often makes them less open to counter-throws (which seem to have been developed following the entry into international Judo of Russia and other 'wrestling' countries) but in turn makes it less easy for them to score full-points. The 1979 rule on 'nose-diving' throws (especially uchimata, 'inner-thigh' throw) is an example of an official response to this tendency; in this case the player aims to throw his own bodyweight downwards rapidly to the mat in making the throw, so making it very hard for his opponent to lift him up in a counter-throw. However, the movement involved limits the lifting action of the attacker's leg, which should

make the technique effective for a full-point throw (by lifting the opponent clear of the mat prior to throwing him onto his back). Another example is provided by the so-called 'two-knee seoinage' (shoulder-throw from a kneeling position), in which the attacker throws himself down on his knees rather than staying on his feet in making the throw, again avoiding counter-throws but limiting his capacity to score a full point. While action has been taken by the European Judo Union to attempt to control this technique, (73), it still appears prominently in contemporary competition, the International Judo Federation not having introduced any rules in relation to it.

The Tactical and Technical Relevance of Contest Rules

In general, the relevance of rules to techniques and tactics has been examined by Hoare (74). Even though he was writing before the introduction of the yuko and koka scores, when minor scores were not officially recorded or announced (but were taken into account in reaching a decision), he refers to techniques of a 'wrestling' (75) type which do not score full-points but which are ways of putting the opponent onto the mat so that 'grappling' techniques can be used. While he suggests that 'wrestling' type throwing techniques do not score full-points, whereas those of the 'pure Japanese' (i.e. 'pure Judo') type do, the above discussion suggests that 'Japanese' techniques may be adapted so that they are less likely to score full-points. Hoare, however, relates the prominence of the 'wrestling approach' to the rules:

"Whether there is a future for this type of attack depends entirely on the rules. As long as knockdowns are scored then they will have a big future " (76).

In a subsequent article Hoare follows up this analysis with a proposal to alter the rules:

"What is vital is that three and five point knockdowns (this again was written before the introduction of the yuko and the koka) aren't scored. One could simply substitute an attack-rate score " (77).

The elimination of the minor scores would be designed to put an emphasis on making fully successful throws; however, as has been seen, the 1974 I.J.F. rules introduced the yuko and the koka as recorded scores, thus going in the opposite direction to that advocated by Hoare. The technical relevance of developments in rules is further demonstrated by references to the need for contemporary players to be trained in knowledge of the rules, or to the need for constant awareness of the tactical significance of the rules in the conduct of a contest (78).

Concern with the state of the rules is a quite recent phenomenon in Judo, As has been indicate, Kodokan rules applied in international competition until 1967, and they showed little change over time. There are, indeed, no references in 'Judo' Magazine which indicate that the rules were a matter of controversy until 1966 (79), from which time they have come to occupy a quite prominent place in debates about Judo, as is indicated by the foregoing account. One area of debate over the rules is that relating to Judo's appeal to television viewers, an issue which has stimulated concern with possible changes in the rules to enhance Judo's television appeal. As indicated above, one element in thinking about the rules of Judo has been the importance of the spectator appeal of Judo; interpreted broadly this can involve the appeal of Judo as a sport for television as well

as one to be watched directly by spectators at a championship event. It is thus relevant here to examine views expressed on the question of televising contest Judo, in the post-war period, and of possible problems in doing so.

Television and Judo

The first, admittedly somewhat tangential reference to such problems occurs in the report of the 1968 Junior European Championships (80). The reference here is to the media view of Judo as a 'minor' sport, despite its being practised in twenty three European countries, with an estimated 150,000 adult and junior Judoka in Britain (81).

The account continues:

"Frankly, I think the press are afraid to handle any sport they are not too sure about, and they cannot be bothered to take the trouble to learn enough about these so-called 'minor' activities, so that they can speak and write about them intelligently" (82).

A more direct concern with the 'media image' of Judo is shown in a 1971 article in 'Judo' Magazine (83). It is suggested that Judo has elements in it to produce a distinctive image as a

"...violent, thrilling, aggressive, Olympic sport" (84).

The account continues:

"The mass media are always looking for something new, something different. This of course ties in neatly with what I have said earlier with relation to Judo's image within the sport itself. If we present a similar image to other sports our chances of creating interest in the news media is (sic) slender unless Judo becomes a major sport, which is unlikely, or unless we get a vast number of medals at World Championships and Olympic Games " (85).

Thus what is required is a new image for Judo, as

"a violent, dynamic combat sport " (86).

In this instance, prior to the Munich Olympic Games, there is

a 'positive' tone to the account, assuming that the image of Judo can be 'managed' to present Judo as an exciting example of televised sport.

Probably the most important single contribution to this particular debate is the article by Hoare (87), based on his experience of commentating on Judo on television. Compared with the article by Goodbody this is a somewhat less optimistic viewpoint, although it might alternatively be seen as more realistic. The main thrust of the article may be summarised in the following quotation:

"...if Judo wants to maintain its television coverage a major overhaul of the rules is necessary. In many cases judo is plain boring to watch for those in the know and baffling for those who aren't " (88).

Hoare's suggestions for changing Judo to improve this situation are as follows: 1) Scoring points - strangles and armlocks should be outright winning techniques, with the best of three holds or throws, thus rewarding the most decisive techniques, 2) not scoring partially successful throws, using instead an 'attack-rate score', counting the number of attacks during the contest, 3) contest length should be reduced to three minutes, 4) there should be a 'running scoreboard' (see pages 336-8) and players should be more clearly distinguished visually, through their outfits, 5) the range of permitted techniques might be extended, allowing, for example, wrist and knee locks (89). In conclusion, Hoare quotes from the television sports commentator, Adrian Metcalfe, who

"expressed the opinion that if judo could tidy itself up, in five years it could be a major television sport. I agree and I hope that those at the top in charge of the rules are reading " (90).

This may be seen as a realistic statement, rather than as

propaganda, recognising the need for change if Judo is to be acceptable to the media, in particular television. It does not, however, constitute an outright declaration of the desirability of such changes. It is interesting that the changes suggested by Hoare very closely parallel those put forward by Gleeson (91) for the general future development of Judo. These changes were not suggested for television suitability, although this was referred to in one case. The changes were listed as : 1) A public scoreboard, 2) a fixed contest-time, with possibly more than one point being scored during this time (see pages 340-44), 3) change in the Judo suit, to avoid the progress of the contest being interfered with by the jacket coming loose, 4) coloured suits, to distinguish the players clearly (92).

A 'conservative' response to the general question of Judo on television, and to particular changes in the rules, is made by White (93). His argument may be summarised by the following quotations: firstly,

"The first thing that springs to mind is that we really should reconsider Judo as a TV sport. I'm worried that a number of undesirable things will creep in if we don't face up to reality" (94),

and, secondly,

"It would be fatal if we introduce things or change Judo just to suit TV " (95).

Another piece by White (96) is in very much the same vein.

For example,

"It is patently clear that Judo makes lousy television - and that's why we usually get 2½ dismal minutes on Sunday afternoon when we get anything at all. Judo just isn't very interesting to watch and the sooner we realise this, admit it and get on with running our sport instead of trying to impress journalists, the better " (97).

It is clear from the foregoing account of actual changes in contest rules that the more radical suggestions for changing those rules to increase Judo's television appeal have not been followed. Thus, while the changes relating to non-combativity, for example, have been designed to increase spectator appeal, changes of the sort advocated by Hoare have not been introduced.

The Development of Refereeing in British Judo

It is clear that questions relating to refereeing will, necessarily, be closely associated with those relating to rules (in general terms), as refereeing involves the interpretation of the rules in practice. However, it is quite conceivable that concern with refereeing could precede concern with the state of the rules, which is what happened in Britain (98).

Up to the 1960s, refereeing was accepted, in British Judo and, apparently, elsewhere, as an activity that would be undertaken by those of the highest status in general Judo terms. Thus for example, in the British Judo Association Selection contests in October 1956 the contests were refereed by T.Leggett, 6th Dan and I.Abe, 6th Dan (a Japanese based in Europe) (99), while the report of the 1960 British Inter-area Championships includes the following comment:

"Another point which stands out so well in judo contests in this country is the complete acceptance by the competitors of any decision given by the referees, and we were able in the quarter-finals, semi-finals and finals of the championships to have the services of Japanese 4th, 5th and 6th Dans both as referees and judges " (100).

This indicates clearly that ability in refereeing was equated, in effect, with general Judo ability and status, not being

seen as an activity requiring specialisation.

The first indication of movement towards such specialisation comes not long after the occasion of the above quotation, however. Thus a report of the 1961 National Technical Conference contains a reference to the idea of having certificated referees; it is clear from the context, however, that at this stage the idea was only in a very early stage of development (101). Within two years, however, the qualification system had become established in Britain and there was also a qualification at international level (102). The format of the examination for referees in Britain is outlined as follows:

"1. A set written paper. 2. Special contests to judge the practical ability of the entrant to referee. 3. Actual contests at the first opportunity possible, e.g. Area Contests, Inter Club competitions, Area examinations, etc. " (103).

While British referees may have been rather slow to establish themselves with international qualifications (104), the system developed in general in Britain so that by 1970 there were 142 qualified referees (mostly with British domestic qualifications only) in the country (105), the number rising to over 500 by 1979 (106); in addition opinions have been expressed suggesting an improvement in the quality of refereeing as well. For example:

"There is, however, absolutely no doubt about the enormous improvement in refereeing and judging in the last couple of years " (107).

Reference has already been made (Chapter 3, pages 189-90) to a more equal 'balance of power' between Japan and other countries, in Judo terms, developing in the 1960s and 1970s. One clear manifestation of this trend, in refereeing, is provided by the following point made by C. Palmer in a 'Judo'

Magazine interview in 1972 (108). Referring to the time at which he became President of the International Judo Federation (in 1965) and having mentioned the problem of formulating international rules (to replace the Kodokan rules) he goes on:

"The we had to get a referees' award, and eventually by being severe, even our Japanese friends realised that it was no good sending old boys any more. Wonderful fellows they might be, but some of them were a bit stiff in the knee or hip to get down and see what was going on in time " (109)-

A final indication of the place of refereeing as an activity in British Judo is provided by the presence in 'Judo' Magazine of two articles on aspects of the technique of refereeing (110). It should be pointed out, however, that the articles were written by an American and that one of them drew heavily on an article on refereeing originally published in the Bulletin of the Kodokan Institute for Scientific Studies on Judo. The concern in Britain with technical aspects of refereeing may thus be seen as being a rather indirect one, following studies produced elsewhere rather than actually leading to the production of such studies in this country. This point does not, however, mean that the interest in techniques of refereeing is not a 'real' one, indeed the introduction to the articles referred to here, written by R.M. Mitchell, Chairman of the British Judo Association Refereeing Sub-Committee, clearly indicates the importance attached to them:

"They should be of much interest to ALL referees, particularly those aspiring to international status " (111).

The development of the refereeing system is significant in a number of ways. It is a good example of the process of differentiation which has been identified in British Judo from the 1960s onwards (see Chapter 3, page 200), involving

coaching and contest administration as identifiable areas of activity in addition to refereeing. Changes in refereeing are thus important in marking one aspect of the process of weakening of the assumption that high Judo grade (derived from contest competence and knowledge of theory) automatically (in effect) conferred competence in other areas of activity (such as coaching and refereeing). The development of refereeing is also significant in terms of the emergence of alternative hierarchies (112) to that based on grade and practical Judo ability, as happened in coaching (see Chapter 5, pages 307-8) so that, while some ex-contest players of high standing have become referees, thus being able to maintain 'closeness' to Judo contests after retirement from active participation, there are also other people who did not achieve international-level representation or major championship success, for example (113), demonstrating that the 'contest' or 'grade' hierarchy and the refereeing hierarchy no longer overlap to the extent that they did previously (114).

The development of concern with refereeing is a quite natural consequence of changes (involving growing complexity) in the rules of Judo; beyond this, if, as has been argued (see Chapter 4) greater importance is attached to winning, in certain terms, than previously, concern with standards of refereeing to remove 'incidental' factors possibly affecting the outcome of a contest (e.g. mistakes or bad decisions by referees) (115) will increase. Given, in addition, that opportunities exist for people to establish, through refereeing, a level of status beyond that which they had been able to gain through contest Judo, then it is not

surprising that refereeing has become an activity to which greater attention is paid than was the case up to the 1960s.

Summary

The main point of significance of the rules of Judo in relation to understanding Judo activity and changes in it may be summarised as follows. The rules of Judo, as do those of other sports, contain 'regulative principles' with clear moral content which outline what Judo is and how it should be played. Questions of contestants' safety, for example, may be seen to operate within the framework of moral principles which indicate 'acceptable' and unacceptable' dangers. The major process in rule-changes over time has been identified as one leading to greater specificity and a more operational basis in the rules; examples of this process ~~are~~ the development of penalties and grades of` scoring in contests. In the former case, the development of penalties in general indicates a wish to specify more clearly the 'deviant' acts involved in the prohibited actions, with the very recent development of grading offences in terms of seriousness. The specific case of the 'non-combativity' rule shows how a long-standing principle in the rules has been given a specific, operational basis in recent formulations, while that of the rule relating to leaving the contest area is significant in terms of modern contest players' involvement with tactical approaches, 'using' the rules in an explicit way. This development in turn reflects a decline in what has been shown here to be the 'moral commitment' of players in the 1950s, for example.

The case of scoring involves the greater operationalising of the concept of 'success' in a contest, with a larger number of grades of score making it possible to evaluate success more finely; this may be related to a modern stress on success in contest, with contests occupying a more prominent place in Judo activity than previously. The use of the running scoreboard is also important in tactical terms, while the introduction of the non-combativity rule and that of scoreboards are indications of a growing wish to attract spectators to Judo contests, increasing its appeal to them. This in turn is closely related to the question of Judo's appeal to television viewers, an issue which has stimulated concern with possible changes in the rules to enhance Judo's television appeal. Rules have also been shown to have relevance, in general, to the sort of techniques employed in contests.

Refereeing as an activity has developed in connection with the increased complexity of the rules, which helps to justify the idea of refereeing as a specialist activity, although, in Britain, some concern with refereeing standards can be seen in a period before that of more rapid change in the rules. The standard of refereeing also becomes important where greater stress is put on the outcome of contests, for example in important international championships. The growth of refereeing is also an indication of the process of increased differentiation, involving also coaching and contest administration, which has occurred in modern British Judo.

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- (12) Furst, R.T, "Social Change and the Commercialisation of Professional Sports", *International Review of Sport Sociology*, Vol. 6, 1971, pages 153-70
- (13) Ibid., page 165
- (14) Dunning, E., & Sheard, K., "Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football", Martin Robertson, 1979
- (15) Ibid., for example pages 99, 105, 106
- (16) Ibid., page 93, and on the general question of 'hacking'
- (17) Ibid., page 91
- (18) The following formulations have been taken: Kodokan rules of 1929 and 1953, International Judo Federation rules of 1967, 1974 and 1979
- (19) Kodokan, "Rules of Judo Contests", article 7, quoted in *The Budokwai*, Vol. 1, No. 7, October 1929
- (20) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1979, article 7

- (21) See for example Kodokan, "Illustrated Kodokan Judo", Kodansha, 1955, page 9; Harrison, E., "The Fighting Spirit of Japan", Foulsham, 1955, page 65
- (22) Kumeno, T., "Memories of Yokoyama", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 75, October 1963, page 11
- (23) Ibid., page 11
- (24) Kodokan, "Rules of Judo Contests", op.cit., article 18
- (25) Kodokan, "Contest Rules of the Kodokan Judo", 1953, article 33, quoted in Kodokan, "Illustrated Kodokan Judo", Kodansha, 1955, page 288
- (26) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1967, article 29
- (27) Ibid., Commentary on article 29
- (28) The rule was formulated in 1971 (see the British Judo Association Annual Report for the year 1971) but appears in the consolidated 1974 rules.
- (29) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1974, commentary to article 30 (prohibited acts)
- (30) Kodokan, "Rules of Judo Contests", 1929, op.cit., article 17, ii, D
- (31) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1974, article 30, (1)
- (32) Ibid., commentary on article 30
- (33) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1979, commentary on article 30. From a technical point of view it is harder in groundwork to isolate a particular action as an 'attack' than is the case with throwing techniques. Thus both players might be virtually motionless for a quite sustained period, with one attacking (for instance attempting a strangle technique) and the other defending.
- (34) Bowen, R., "2nd World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 5, February 1959, page 10
- (35) B.J.A., "British Judo Association Annual Report for the year 1st January to 31st December 1971"
- (36) The association of offences and penalties is not automatic, as the rules state: "The above division of infringements into four groups is intended as a guide, to give a clearer understanding by all, of the relative penalties normally awarded for committing the applicable prohibited act. Referees and judges are authorised to award penalties

(36) cont.

according to the 'intent' or situation and in the best interests of the sport". (I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1979, article 30)

- (37) For example, joint-locks other than on the elbow, action possibly injuring the neck or spinal vertebrae, lifting an opponent lying on his back and 'driving' him back into the mat, falling directly to the ground while attempting certain armlocks in a standing position (which could injure the elbow or shoulder-joint).
- (38) For example, disregarding the referee's instructions, making unnecessary calls, gestures, etc., any action against the spirit of Judo.
- (39) Non-combativity is, in fact, in the first group of offences, but the commentary to article 31 (penalties) indicates that the referee gives a warning, without penalty, for the 'first offence', awarding penalties for subsequent offences (I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1979).
- (40) Ibid., article 30 (xvi)
- (41) Menzies, A., "3rd World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 6, No. 4, January 1962, page 9
- (42) Ibid., page 9
- (43) Ibid., page 9
- (44) Reay, A., "1975 British Open Championships", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 4, June 1975, page 7
- (45) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1979, article 30 (xxviii)
- (46) Kodokan, "Rules of Judo Contests", 1929, op.cit., article 10, A
- (47) Ibid., article 10, B
- (48) Ibid., article 10, C
- (49) Kodokan, "Contest Rules of the Kodokan Judo", 1953, op.cit., articles 29, 30, 31
- (50) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1967, article 32 (b) and (c)
- (51) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1974, articles 20 and 21
- (52) Ibid., articles 20, 21, 29, (iii) and (iv)

- (53) Hoare, S., "Judo on TV", Vol. 17, No. 2, October 1973, page 14
- (54) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1974, commentary on article 15
- (55) Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 4, December 1973, page 16
- (56) Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 8, June 1974, page 17
- (57) Ibid., page 17
- (58) As late as 1961 the audience at a major British championship event was asked to observe silence during the contests. While they did not do so completely, the expectation is perhaps the important point. The 'countdown' referred to (n.56) in the 1974 British Open Championships is interesting as another indication of Judo coming to be more similar to other sports, the 'countdown' occurring in basketball, for example.
- (59) Fryer, V., "The 9th World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 10, January 1976, pages 6-7
- (60) Kodokan, "Contest Rules of the Kodokan Judo", 1953, op.cit., article 12
- (61) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1967, commentary on article 12
- (62) I.J.F., "Contest Rules of the International Judo Federation", 1974, article 12
- (63) For example, Goodbody (J.Goodbody., "Judo: How To Become a Champion", Luscombe, 1974, page 14) gives this account: "Only one point - an 'ippon' - decides a contest, because the theory is that in early times a single clean throw, a stranglehold or hold-down could disable a person". Also, Reay & Hobbs (Reay, A., & Hobbs, G., "The Judo Manual", Barrie & Jenkins, 1979, page 34) suggest that the rules of Judo...provide for a symbolic death in the form of an outright win by 'ippon' (full point). No injury is caused, but in terms of contest such a defeat is absolute and crushing."
- (64) Coaching Committee, "Coaching Notes", Judo, Vol. 11, No. 3, December 1966, Page 22. G.Gleeson (National Coach at the time that the above was written) later put forward the idea of the fixed time-limit contest, with points being scored up to a specified maximum (in case of a 'dangerous' inequality of standard between contestants) in his book "All About Judo".

- (65) Modric, Z., "Judo in Yugoslavia", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 7, April 1968, page 23
- (66) Menzies, A., "British Schools Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 10, July 1968, page 26
- (67) Ibid., page 26
- (68) Ogden, M., "A Wonderful Day of Judo", Judo, Vol. 13, No. 10, July 1969, page 33
- (69) Hoare, op.cit., pages 13-15
- (70) Ibid., page 13
- (71) Ibid., page 13
- (72) Ibid., page 13
- (73) Reay (Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 6, August 1975, page 18) refers to penalties being introduced for 'half-hearted' attempts.
- (74) Hoare, S., "The 1972 Olympics: A Technical Report", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 4, October 1972, page 8
- (75) Reference has been made (Chapter 4, page 269) to the existence of two 'styles' in contemporary Judo, the 'pure Japanese' and the 'wrestling' styles.
- (76) Hoare, "The 1972 Olympics: A Technical Report", op.cit., page 8
- (77) Hoare, "Judo on TV", op.cit., page 13
- (78) See for example, Gleeson, G., "All About Judo", (EP, 1975) pages 83 and 85, and Reay & Hobbs, op.cit., page 108
- (79) Menzies (Menzies, A., "1966 Open National Trials", Judo, Vol. 10, No. 7, April 1966, page 2) refers to the use, at those trials, of European Judo Union rules, with three and five-point knockdowns, and also to some difficulties in their exact interpretation by referees.
- (80) Menzies, A., "4th Junior European Championships", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 8, May 1968, page 3
- (81) As indicated in Chapter 3 (see page 196) the numbers of players officially registered with the British Judo Association is less than one tenth of the figure quoted here. The gap between the figures is explained by a number of factors, such as the number of players in schools who at the time were not registered with the Association (but who were receiving Judo instruction) and the number of players in Judo organisations other than the British Judo Association. While such

(81) cont.

'overall-activity' figures have often been published they must be regarded as (and are usually stated to be) only estimates.

(82) Menzies, "4th Junior Championships", op.cit., page 3

(83) Goodbody, J., "The Need for a New Image in Judo", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 4, January 1971, pages 23-5

(84) Ibid., page 23

(85) Ibid., page 24

(86) Ibid., page 25

(87) Hoare, S., "Judo on TV", op.cit., pages 13-15

(88) Ibid., page 13

(89) Ibid., pages 13-14

(90) Ibid., page 15

(91) Gleeson, G., "The Junior European Championships", Judo, Vol. 16, No. 10, May 1973, pages 2-6

(92) Ibid., pages 4-5

(93) White, D., "David White Looks to the Future", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 7, September 1975, pages 13-14 and 28

(94) Ibid., page 13

(95) Ibid., page 13

(96) White, D., "David White Pleads for Realism", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 4, August/September 1976, pages 23 and 34-5

(97) Ibid., page 23

(98) That is, even if the rules were fixed and accepted in any particular period, there could well be concern with standards of interpretation of those rules among particular groups of referees.

(99) "Royal Albert Hall: British Judo Association Selection Contests and Display", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 2, November 1956, page 13

(100) Menzies, A., "5th National Inter-Area Championships", Judo, Vol. 5, No. 2, November 1960, page 32

(101) "3rd National Technical Conference", Judo, Vol. 6, No. 3, December 1961, page 49

- (102) "British Judo Association Official Notes", Judo, Vol. 7, No. 8, May 1964, page 13. There is a reference to C.Palmer having qualified as an International Referee. Miss E.Davis ("North West Area News", Judo, Vol. 7, No. 8, May 1963, page 40) refers to people gaining Provisional Referees Certificates.
- (103) Brewster, K., "Midland Section News", Judo, Vol. 7, No. 9, June 1963, page 36
- (104) A 'Special Correspondent' ("European Judo Union Referees' Course", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 6, March 1968, page 2) refers to only two British referees having European Judo Union qualifications, with an added comment that more should become qualified.
- (105) "The National Referees Course", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 1, October 1970, page 11
- (106) Wilkin, E., "Refereeing News", Judo, Vol. 21, No. 6, October/November 1979, page 6. The existence of a feature such as this in 'Judo' Magazine is an indication of the development of the importance of refereeing. In 1976 there had been three I.J.F. and fourteen E.J.U. qualified referees in Britain (Reay, A., "British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 12, July/August 1977, page 19).
- (107) White, D., "David White Writes", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 11, June 1977, page 34
- (108) White, D., "Charles Palmer - IJF President and BJA Chairman - Hits Out in an Exclusive Interview with David White", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 9, February 1972, pages 2-6
- (109) Ibid., page 6
- (110) Reilly, R.A., "Refereeing", Judo, Vol. 20, No. 3, December 1977, pages 20-24
- (111) Ibid., page 20
- (112) The development of different grades of referee (BJA, National, EJU, IJF) is important, creating clear differentiation within the refereeing system and indicating that a hierarchy existed in refereeing activity. In addition there is a bureaucratic element, with positions of authority in the Refereeing Sub-Committee, for example.
- (113) Of seven members of the British Judo Association Refereeing Sub-Committee in 1979, for example, only one had been a British international representative - see Judo, Vol. 21, No. 5, August/September 1979, pages 15-16

- (114) While it is not really possible to refer to a 'refereeing hierarchy' in, say the 1950s, as the system had not developed with different grades of referee, those referees who took charge of important contests could be seen as having high status in refereeing terms, and this status coincided with high status in grade and contest ability.
- (115) Similar concern is expressed in modern tennis (in relation to umpires) and association football for example. While these are professional sports, (that is the concern is expressed most strongly in relation to professional practitioners) the same sort of concern can easily apply to amateur sports.

CHAPTER 7

AN OVERVIEW OF CHANGE IN BRITISH JUDO

In the preceding chapters a number of issues have been examined. The background to British Judo after the Second World War has been sought firstly in the development of Judo in Japan, this in turn being seen in the context of Japanese 'martial arts and ways', and secondly in the initial establishment of Judo activity as such in Britain after the First World War. Various aspects of Judo (1) activity have been investigated: its organisational context, major trends in training and the place of contests in Judo, ways in which Judo knowledge is transmitted and developments in contest rules along with their application in refereeing.

Increasing Competitiveness in Post-War Judo

One way of viewing the changes which have been outlined is in terms of an overall process of Judo becoming increasingly 'competitive'. This competitiveness can be seen at different levels. Thus internally (within the Judo movement itself) it is manifested in a greater stress than previously on contests and on preparation for them. Great effort is expended in training specifically for competition, with the hope of winning medals, and tactics are used to increase chances of winning; in turn victory is based on a more finely graded series of possibilities, in terms of an elaborated scoring structure (Chapter 6, page 335). On the other hand Judo has also become more competitive externally, in its relationships with other sports and with official agencies. As a part of the field of sport Judo is now involved in competition with other sports for government grants (through for example the Sports Council - see Chapter 5, page 312), in competition for more staff (see Chapter 3, pages 199-200), for television coverage (see Chapter 6,

page 347). Judo has thus moved clearly into the marketplace, along with many other sporting organisations. As a background to seeking an explanation of these changes, sociological approaches to change in sporting contexts will now be examined.

Sociological Accounts of Change in Sport

One theoretical approach possibly relevant to the analysis of change in Judo involves the work of Max Weber; the material in Chapter 3 on forms of authority and the development of bureaucratic organisation in Judo suggests that Weber's work may be of value. As argued in Chapter 3, the technical basis of Judo gives rise to considerable potential for personal authority, in a way that may match Weber's basic concept of the exceptional individual qualities of charisma (2). However, the expertise of Judo players is based on routine practice(3) and the tone of Judo practice does not fit Weber's idea of the emergence of charismatic leaders in times of crisis or distress (4), for which there is no comparable basis in Judo.

The emergence of bureaucratic administration in Judo (to an extent at least) suggests greater applicability of Weber's ideas, but it should be noted that, in Judo, the strength of hierarchy was reduced as other bureaucratic characteristics appeared (Chapter 3, page 205), which does not fit the classic pattern of bureaucracy laid down by Weber.

Two recent works on sport in society have given relatively full consideration to Weber (5). Thus Ingham and Singh examine developments in sports equipment, leading to higher performance levels, the 'rational' appraisal of sporting performance through statistics, and the development

of bureaucracy in sport (6). This appears to limit their analysis largely to sports where equipment is important and where statistical evaluation of performance is significant, neither of these points being particularly relevant to Judo (nor, for example to Rugby or Soccer, in comparison with say, Athletics). Guttman examines the standardisation of rules in sports and the development of scientific approaches to training (both within a bureaucratic framework) (7), also advancing a 'Weberian' interpretation of modern sports, which involves relationships between religion and sports participation (8). While processes of bureaucratisation in sport are readily observable, they may have particular characteristics in individual sports, as the case of Judo shows, so that broad treatments of such processes may have limited value. Also, the assumption (by Guttman) that scientific training is an automatic sign of rationalisation in sport (9) must be challenged. Thus it has been demonstrated here that scientific training was part of Kano's original concept of Kodokan Judo (see Chapter 1, page 68) and that what has happened in post-war Judo is a change in the direction of the application of science rather than an increase in the extent of its application. When it is also noted that the 'ends' of Judo activity have changed over the post-war period, now centreing on contest activity, with fewer moral/philosophical considerations (Chapter 4, pages 250 and 280), the capacity of Weber's notion of rationality to account for changes in Judo training must be doubted. That is, analysis relating to whether means (training) are being more effectively applied in Judo than previously is difficult, if possible at all (10), given that the ends towards which they are

directed have changed. If the substance of Weberian concepts is not particularly helpful in the analysis of change in Judo, as seems to be the case, it is possible that a Weberian approach to study may be of value; this does not mean his specific methodology based on ideal-types (11), but rather his broad approach in his work on Sociology of Religion (12). This point is taken up again below (page 374),

Turning to general empirical works, there are many more attempts to explain (or simply to plot the course of) change in 'sport' in general than in specific sports (13). As is perhaps not surprising when dealing with the subject in such broad terms (i.e. 'sport' taken as a whole), such explanatory factors as are advanced are frequently very general in character. Thus, for example, Betts (14), dealing with the relationship of invention to sport (in a basically historical fashion) bases his approach on such a broad causal factor:

"Industrialization and urbanization were more fundamentally responsible for the changes and developments in sport during the next generation than any other cause " (15).

Furst (16), in looking at the 'commercialisation' of sport, examines a series of social factors underlying the process: the pattern of the working week, urbanisation and population movements, mass education and religion (17); the list clearly indicates a basis of explanation in very broadly-conceived factors. In a similar vein, Nixon (18) considers the development of modern sport in terms of commercial orientation and bureaucratic organisation; again this is undertaken in a 'sweeping' fashion. Wohl (19) is another example of a very broad approach to this topic, suggesting that sport reproduces the structure and shape of the whole

society, and examining general relationships between the characteristics of the society and those of sport at particular times. Bourdieu (20), considering relationships between sport and class, and looking at different phases of sporting development, also produces a series of highly generalised ideas and relationships, involving, for instance, the views held by different classes of the body and exercise and the 'objective potentialities' of 'ethical or aesthetic accomplishment' in different sports, which are linked to the 'ethical and aesthetic dispositions' of different classes (21). The apparent assumption of monolithic meaning-structures in individual sports must be criticised, the 'objective potentialities' not being relevant to all participants, and there being, as the case of Judo indicates, shifts of emphasis in the meaning that a sport is likely to have for participants (even if study is limited to elite competitors). Wohl (22) also deals with change in sport in terms of a broad shift from 'aristocratic' to 'bourgeois' sport which, while it may fit a Marxian framework, in this case involves generalised accounts of the two stages; he also refers to a number of functions in sport (23). Huizinga (24) provides another example of this generality of approach, not in this case in an explanatory form but in terms of an empirical generalisation:

"Ever since the last quarter of the nineteenth century games, in the guise of sport, have been taken more and more seriously. The rules have become increasingly strict and elaborate" (25).

As a final example, Stone (26) again states a very general relationship between 'forms of society' and 'forms of sport':

"As our social organisation has shifted from a system of estates, through a system of production and classes, to an arrangement of consumption and masses, play and sport have always been affected

by the cleavages and processes built into such organisational patterns " (27),

going on to indicate that, in the nineteenth century, the primacy of production 'insulated' sport or play, or 'restricted' sport to those who were 'leisured' (28), while certain attitudes from this period persisted into the modern era, in opposition to professionalism, for instance (29). He then goes on to point to the 'antinomial principles' of 'play' and 'dis-play' in sport (30), a point which will be taken up below in relation to another aspect of Stone's work.

The above studies, approaching a very broad topic (change in sport) in a very general way, may well reflect the relatively early stage of development of the Sociology of Sport at which many of them were written, where, as may be expected in an exploratory phase of the study of a new area in a discipline, there is a fair amount of what may be termed 'scene-setting' or 'opening-up' work, attempting to prepare the ground for later work by the examination of very broad issues. In addition, the fact that many of the above have appeared as journal articles may also mean that the potential for detailed analysis is limited. However, it is still apparent that the work quoted above is of such a general nature that it tends to be superficial; in addition exceptions are likely to be found to some of the assumed patterns of change in sport. From the point of view of the study of change in Judo there are some points of interest, to some extent at least, to be derived from the above studies. Thus it is, as is pointed out by a number of writers, necessary to consider changes in sport (or in 'a sport') in the context of changes in the wider society, although this context may need to be examined in quite specific and detailed ways. Also, while a number of studies have been concerned with

the development of professional sport, one point of interest made by Nixon (31) is the observation that amateur sports may be 'professionalised' in the sense of involving large budgets in their operation, their organisation often becoming bureaucratised (as, Nixon suggests, professional sports organisations have).

From the point of view of the present research, while studies of change in sport in general may be of value, studies of change in individual sports are likely to provide useful pointers to the explanation of change in Judo. Taking studies which have focussed on sports in the last hundred years or so, three will be considered here (32). The study by Riesman and Denney (33) might be thought particularly appropriate, dealing as it does with a sport 'transplanted' from one society to another (American Football developing from Rugby). However, they suggest that

"...here we can open only a few lines of investigation " (34),

their method being (initially) to

"...study the interrelations between changes in the rules of the game...and to analyse the parallel changes in football strategy and ethos" (35),

a point which has been considered, in relation to Judo, in Chapter 6 (page ³⁴⁴) of this study. While there are certain other points from Riesman and Denney's study which are relevant to the study of Judo, for example the ethnic (and class) backgrounds of players at different times (36) and the 'rationalisation' of training and play (37), these are hinted at rather than dealt with in detail. The study by Stone (38) also appears to have relevance to Judo, as it involves wrestling. In his study Stone elaborates the

distinction between 'play' and 'dis-play', suggesting that professional wrestling in America has been transformed from 'sport' into 'drama' (39) and listing four factors contributing to this change (40). One of these is a broad background factor, that is, urbanisation, leading to a need for wrestlers to 'mobilise identifications' among people who would not otherwise know them (41) and one is related to the nature of wrestling itself, involving the use of submission-holds to decide bouts, which may produce long periods of inactivity, boring to spectators, and which involves a high risk of injury, shortening wrestlers' careers (42). Of the other two factors, one involves the response of the public in the early twentieth century to violence in sport (particularly American football) (43) and the last one is an administrative factor, involving the formation of 'wrestling trusts', with wrestlers, promoters and managers arranging 'dramatic' matches (44). The listing of contributory factors to a change in the form of a sport is of potential interest to the study of Judo, but the focus of Stone's study on an 'unreal' activity (from the point of view of 'genuine' sporting competition) lessens its direct relevance to Judo.

The third work to be considered here, that by Dunning and Sheard (45), involves a considerably more detailed and specific attempt to produce an explanation of change within a particular sport (Rugby Football). Dunning and Sheard aim to place the development of Rugby in its wider social context, which is seen in specific terms, such as class-structure and power relationships. The avoidance of an over-simple or over-general 'causal chain' is stressed by Dunning and Sheard, with the adoption of a 'sociogenic' or '(con)figurational'

approach (46), in which

"Special attention is paid...to the genesis within the developing social system of pressures and constraints which lead groups reciprocally to modify their behaviour " (47).

They list four 'theoretical objectives', illuminating the development of British class-structure, along with related institutions such as the public schools, illuminating the 'structural sources' of Britain's emergence as the first 'sporting' country in the world, testing the Elias 'civilisation thesis', relating to the development of norms of violence-control, and testing certain theories suggesting a trend to greater 'seriousness' in modern sport (48).

The work by Dunning and Sheard is of value in understanding change in sport, and stands out in comparison with the other work examined above, in its combination of historical data and sociological analysis. One criticism may be made of it at the level of its basic approach, however. Thus, referring to earlier studies of sport, Dunning and Sheard suggest that these

"...pay little attention to clashes of group interest and ideology " (49)

so that

"It almost appears in their analyses as if the old values and forms of sport were fading away without conflict " (50).

They go on to suggest that such an approach is 'over-simplified', pointing to Rugby as an example of 'clashes of group interest and ideology' (51), but also suggesting that other sports would have provided examples, Rugby being chosen because of its

"...complex relation to a pattern of spread through the class structure" (52).

While the point about clashes of interest and ideology is well made by Dunning and Sheard in relation to Rugby, there is perhaps a danger that, in reacting to earlier approaches which seem to have ignored 'conflict', they have overstressed it, the example of Rugby encouraging this (53). It is interesting that they later examine two other 'core' English sports, Cricket and Association Football, suggesting that, in the first,

"...virtually no tension was generated at all" (54), while in the second

"...the tensions aroused did not reach a level where disassociation and the establishment of separate amateur and professional games became necessary" (55).

They also look at modern conditions in Rugby, with the Rugby Football Union opposing the 'professionalising' (growing seriousness and achievement-orientation) of the modern game (56). While it may simply be one 'case' against another, it is apparent that, in Judo, a shift towards competitiveness in the 1970s has not produced such antagonisms, overtly at least, the British Judo Association clearly supporting the 'modern' approach (a point to be examined later in this chapter); in the case of Judo a quite large shift of emphasis has occurred, in a relatively short period, without serious ideological clashes. To say this is not to ignore the issues examined in Chapter 5 (pages 302-13), involving coaching and relations between different Judo organisations; judging by Dunning and Sheard's evaluation of the cases of cricket and soccer, however, these should not be regarded as 'fundamental' conflicts. The coaching issue was resolved by 1974, having lasted less than a decade, while the existence of different Judo organisations is, in the present day, of

limited significance, the associations other than the British Judo Association not representing any ideological challenge to it. It should, however, be added that in the case of Kendo in Britain supports rather more the position adopted by Dunning and Sheard, and in the manner of their analysis, this will be compared with Judo later in this chapter. It is always possible that an attempt to redress an imbalance in a theoretical position (for example Dunning and Sheard's suggestion that certain processes of change in sport should not be seen as 'conflict-free') will lead to a 'swing' rather too far in the opposite direction, and in this case this appears to have occurred, at least some of Dunning and Sheard's statements suggesting that clashes of interest and ideology should be assigned a place in the explanation of change in sport which may not be justified. However, the definite establishment of the place of such conflicts in change in sport must wait until detailed studies of processes of change in individual sports have been undertaken; it is an assumption of both the Dunning and Sheard work and of this research that such studies are of value. Further, such studies will benefit from locating the changes within sport in the broader social-structural context, reflecting the point made earlier about a 'Weberian' approach (see page 367).

Explanation of the Social Characteristics of British Judo:

1) 1918-30

Initially it is necessary to explain the characteristics of each of the three periods on which attention has been focussed in this study, that is, firstly, the inter-war period, particularly from 1918-30, secondly the 1950s and early 1960s (up to say 1963) and thirdly the 1970s, up to

the present day. In each case, the characteristic form of the activity is to be explained by reference to a number of factors: the social composition of the practising group, the nature of the Judo 'message' at the time, the nature of the leadership operating, the organisational state of Judo and external relations (for example with Japan and with other sporting activities).

For the 1920s the practising group has been shown (Chapter 2, pages 108-27) to be predominantly composed of people of high social status with, in the early 1920s, a practising group grown largely from the 'urban gentry'; towards the end of the 1920s it had significant professional and white-collar elements, with a rather lower 'centre of gravity' in status terms. This composition may be related, in terms of factors affecting initial recruitment, to the image of Judo which was put forward in Budokwai publicity and in press accounts of Jujutsu/Judo activity; that is, the elements of the Budokwai 'Image' which were described in Chapter 2 (pages 127-39) as being potentially attractive to individuals of high status can account to an extent for the initial attraction of people to the Budokwai. It may be assumed that, in many cases, actual Judo practice lived up to the expectations of those taking it up, as they often continued their activity over several years; here the personality of Gunji Koizumi is likely to have been important (as suggested in references quoted in Chapter 2, pages 138-9). The image of Judo presented to the public, bearing in mind that publicity from the time of the opening of the club was aimed at high-status individuals (for example note the direction of initial advertising, quoted in Chapter 2, n.44),

may in turn be attributed to awareness on the part of Koizumi of the 'message' that might appeal to such individuals. This is not to accuse Koizumi of being 'calculating' or of having a 'commercial' approach to Judo (57); however references in press reports to the presence of 'high-status persons' (Chapter 2, pages 135-6) in the club membership suggest awareness of the potential drawing power of such people, bearing in mind the 'alien' nature of Judo. Judo was thus marketed in England in a suitable form for this country (see Chapter 2, page 155), attracting a large proportion of high-status individuals. The typical composition of the practising group is clearly likely to interact with the message of Judo as put over by leaders at the time, producing a typical form of practice in any particular period. In the 1920s, the combination of a high-status clientele and Koizumi's message, involving a particular vein of 'philosophy' (see Chapter 4, pages 245-7) in Judo but not stressing hard physical activity in practice, (the Koizumi line here being supported by Harrison and Steers, for example - Chapter 2, pages 128-9) produced a form of activity which, while not frivolous, did not involve either the sort of moral commitment found in the 1950s or the sort of hard physical training found in the 1970s. It was thus an activity suitable for 'gentlemen', being non-competitive and civilised. Judo activity with Boy Scouts and the Jewish Lads Brigade, for example, may be seen in terms of 'civilising' groups of people of lower status. Here the personality of Koizumi, as the acknowledged leader of the movement in Britain at the time, seems to symbolise the tone of the movement, that is 'artistic', with

style and humour, presenting a moral 'lesson for life', but not one which was likely to distract people who had existing or prospective careers from following them (for example, it did not involve going to Japan to train). It is interesting that Koizumi was able to attain the status that he did in English 'society' on the basis of a relatively humble (farming) background, which it was probably in his interest not to stress, concentrating rather on his achieved status.

The close relationships with Japan at the time follow naturally from the fact of Koizumi's leadership (while he was based in England, it is most unlikely that he lost all traces of 'Japanese identity' (58) and from the clear dominance that Japanese Judo had in practice at this time. However, this close relationship does not mean that Judo in Britain was an exact replica, on a smaller scale, of that in Japan. Thus, while Japan was actively exporting Judo, the Japanese authorities seem to have been prepared to accept that it might start in a limited form in a particular receiving society. It is apparent that Japanese Judo was, at the time, based on a very 'hard' approach to training. For example, Ishikawa and Draeger (59) state that

"The famous masters of old Japan required intense and long hours of Judo training. It was thought that if the trainees did not perspire blood and water (figuratively), the training was inadequate" (60),

quoting the example of S. Kotani, then an 8th Dan and now a 9th Dan, recalling that

"...during his student days (Kotani was born in 1903) there was never a chance to rest. The drinking of water was forbidden. After one and one-half hours of steady exertion, perspiration would cease to flow, and around two hours, salt would form on the lips and tongue " (61).

Another example along similar lines is given by Matsushita (62),

referring to one of his teachers (Iwazo Hayashi, who was rather younger than Kotani):

"Mr Hayashi taught us about the spirit of Judo training - it was extremely Spartan " (63).

There is, as indicated in Chapter 2 (pages 141-3) little direct evidence on the hardness of practice in the Budokwai in the 1920s, but it is highly improbable that it approached the severity described above in any way at all. It would probably have been very difficult, if not impossible, to impose this sort of approach on the Budokwai practising group, but its absence may be explained in terms of the 'immaturity' of the movement in Britain.

It is also significant that, in the early days of the Budokwai, Judo was not only bracketed with other Japanese martial forms (especially Kendo), but was also linked to related English sports (for example boxing and fencing). The links here are in the form of Judo items in, for example, boxing displays, or boxing, fencing and wrestling in Budokwai Displays (64). Attention has been drawn (Chapter 2, page 128) to E.J.Harrison's suggestion that Judo practice would be beneficial to those practising Western sports and the links referred to above indicate that in addition there were, in the early 1920s at least, no strong barriers between Judo and other sporting forms (65). During the 1920s the organisation of British Judo may be characterised as 'informal', with no administration at the national level, the Budokwai taking a lead in Judo development; there was also considerable potential for the exercise of personal authority in such matters as grading (see Chapter 3, pages 206-7). Looking at Judo in Britain in the 1920s, considerable significance must be

attached to the fact that, as an activity, it had been transplanted from an alien cultural setting. There are indications of Judo being 'tailored' to a new potential clientele, with its image involving elements stressing its 'quaintness' and 'mystery' but, at the same time, making it meaningful for British people. The clientele in the Budokwai, in terms of status composition, reflects emphases in the image of Judo presented at the time, and also provides a parallel with Kano's stress on the backgrounds of people he wished to attract to Judo in Japan (see Chapter 1, page 50) (66). The origins of the form of Judo at the time thus must be sought in the fact that Judo was established in Britain in a cultural setting different from that in which it originated; this led to it being presented in a form felt to be appropriate to the new setting, with recruitment aimed largely at individuals of high social status. In turn the social composition of the practising group, in conjunction with Koizumi's approach, led to practice being relatively undemanding in physical terms (in contrast with Japan), with an absence of very strong commitment (in the 'life-forming' sense) to it, although this is not to deny that members of the practising group took an interest in the philosophical concomitants of Judo practice. The informal organisational state of Judo may be seen as a reflection of a wish (for example on the part of Koizumi) to run the Budokwai as an amateur sports club, avoiding the commercialism which Koizumi appears to have found distasteful in pre First World War Jujutsu. The movement also seems to have been seen, from within, as being subordinate to that in Japan.

Explanation of the Social Characteristics of British Judo:
2) 1930-56

Attention has only been paid to the period between 1930 and 1956 to a relatively slight extent (see Chapter 2, pages 151-2), but it is possible to outline what seem to have been the main developments over that period. One important point is the development of international competition from 1929 onwards, involving Germany at first; while the initial encounters seem to have confirmed that the skill of the Budokwai players was superior to that of the more Jujutsu-oriented Germans, they also suggested that the Germans were physically fitter (Chapter 2, page 148), a point which may well have led the British players to engage in practice rather more seriously than before. Links with Japan were kept up closely and before the Second World War a British player (T.P.Leggett) went to Japan to train. While there is no indication of steady growth in, for instance the number of people achieving Dan grade over the 1930s (that is the figure for each year was no higher than that for the preceding year), the number doing so, in the Budokwai, 60, is clearly much larger than the number attaining Dan grade during the 1920s, that is eight. While the 1930s group contains 12 people who had started Judo practice in the 1920s, there is here still a definite indication of growth in scale. Information about the social backgrounds of players beginning Judo in the 1930s is not available, but the trend towards rather lower status-levels in the Budokwai membership in the late 1920s may well have continued. Turning to the post-war period, up to 1956, the Judo movement took some time to regain its momentum after the war; 26 people in the Budokwai were

promoted to Dan grade between 1941 and 1949, and 31 between 1950 and the end of 1954 (67). This period may be seen as involving the maintenance of close relationships with Japan. Clearly there would have been problems with such relations in the immediate post-war period, but British Judoka were going to Japan to train by 1951 (68). There were also significant organisational developments during this period, with the formation of the British Judo Association and the European Judo Union in 1948, the formation of the International Judo Federation in 1951 and the holding of the first European Championships in the same year. In summary, therefore, between 1930 and 1956 the British Judo movement developed in scale and organisationally also moving towards international competition, but still maintaining (and indeed increasing) links with Japan, which was still predominant in world Judo and a source of legitimacy for British Judo. While Koizumi was still a leading figure (for example being the first National Coach of the British Judo Association), T.P.Leggett was, through the high grade (6th Dan) he had attained and his experience in Japan, becoming a co-leader of the movement in Britain. This period thus contained the seeds of the conditions which came to their full fruition by the second half of the 1950s.

Explanation of the Social Characteristics of British Judo:

3) 1956-63

Moving to the second major period to be examined here, that is the late 1950s and early 1960s, the main characteristics may be set out and accounted for as follows. The scale of activity was increasing steadily, although promotions to Dan grade, for example, stayed at a low level (by comparison with the late 1960s and subsequently - see Chapter 3, page 197).

While organisation was not strongly bureaucratised in form, it was moving towards such a form, as indicated in Chapter 3 (pages 191-206), with the first appointment of full-time officials, for example. Relations with Japan were close, with training visits to Japan on an individual, 'long-stay' basis (with the aim of general Judo development) well established. The idea of Judo training involving broad 'philosophical' ends, with contest participation being seen as one means to those ends, was characteristic of the period. Judo appears in this period to have been rather more strongly 'insulated' from other sports (including at least some Japanese martial forms) than in the early 1920s. One indication of this is the amount of total space devoted to these other forms and sports in 'Judo' Magazine; the percentage of total space devoted to them over the period is as follows:

TABLE 1

AMOUNT OF SPACE IN 'JUDO' MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO
JAPANESE MARTIAL FORMS OTHER THAN JUDO, 1957-63

1957:	0.5%
1958:	1.2%
1959:	2.3%
1960:	3.6%
1961:	3.7%
1962:	10.8%
1963:	10.4%

Over the rest of the 1960s the figure varied between 10.9% and 17.7%. These figures gave a picture of a decline in the insulation of Judo, starting particularly towards the end of the period in question. In terms of Judo's relationships with Western sport, there are indications of a feeling of Judo's distinctiveness, but there is also some evidence of feelings that there should be greater integration with such sport. Thus Gleeson, writing in 1959 (69) about the planned

first National Technical Conference, says of it that

"Its main intention is to bring developments in other sports on the physiological, physical and psychological plain (sic) to the attention of the judo instructors (black belts). Judo has always considered itself different from other sports and this will be the opportunity to find out if such claims are justified " (70).

On the other hand, Gleeson elsewhere (71) combines a comment to similar effect with one suggesting a wish for less distinctiveness; he refers to the opening of a new club dojo as follows:

"Croydon too seems to be turning into a luxury club. If all this exterior improvement indicates progress in Judo it does my heart good; perhaps Judo will yet be widely recognised. No more feeling like men with two heads - we will just be treated like other athletes ! " (72).

In the following year there are other references relating Judo to more established sports. Thus in one case the writer suggests that

"We want to be taken seriously as a sport" (73),
adding that

"In the Midlands, we are planning a petition to be presented to a local paper, asking for a Judo column to be included in the Sports' Page" (74).

The second example involves not so much an appeal for movement towards the field of sport as a reference to other sports as examples of better administrative standards than those taken to be operating in Judo. Thus, having compared the organisation of an international swimming match with that of the British Judo Team eliminations, the writer continues:

"Surely it is about time that judo in this country was put on a much wider and more modern basis" (75).

The social composition of the total practising group at this time cannot be determined here, the size of British Judo

Association membership, for example, being in thousands by this time. It is possible, however, to examine certain more limited groups of Judoka who represent elites in the period. Taking contest players, it is possible to look at those who were selected for the most important Championships during the period, that is the World Championships of 1956, 1958 and 1961. This yields a total of eight people, of whom two had occupations (at the time of appearing in one of the championships) in Class 1 (on the Goldthorpe-Llewellyn scale (76)), both of these being 'Company Directors', one had a Class 2 occupation (power station draughtsman), four had Class 5 occupations (Judo instructors) and one was not classifiable occupationally (being a 'Judo student' in Japan at the time at which he competed). Another source of information is J.M.Goodger's study (77); taking his sub-sample B, composed of players attaining Dan grade prior to 1960, the distribution (Goldthorpe-Llewellyn) is as follows (person's first full-time occupation (78)):

TABLE 2

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (FIRST FULL-TIME OCCUPATION)
OF ELITE PLAYERS, EARLY 1960s

Class 1	- 1
Class 2	- 4
Class 3	- 5
Class 4	- 0
Class 5	- 0
Class 6	- 3
Class 7	- 4

This indicated some polarisation, with what Goldthorpe and Llewellyn refer to as

"the subaltern or 'cadet' positions of the
service class " (79)

(that is Class 2), plus those in

"...essentially subordinate positions whose incumbents could perhaps be taken as forming a non-manual labour force " (80)

on the one hand, and manual workers on the other (Classes 6 and 7). There are here no indications of the sort of status-levels which were characteristic of the 1920s; for example there are no people in either of the groups referred to who are of 'professional' status (these having been numerous in the 1920s). While it is true that the groups being examined here are 'elite' groups, whereas a larger proportion of the total practising group was analysed for the 1920s, it still appears that a shift in social composition has taken place. This is clearly related to the nature of the activity at the time. As suggested in Chapter 2 (page 142), it was unlikely that people with established occupational status, in terms of professional (or commercial) careers), or with clear prospects of such careers (given, for example, public school or university attendance) would have committed themselves to training of the sort which was undertaken in the 1950s; thus the social composition characteristic of the 1920s influenced the nature of the activity at the time (with Koizumi apparently not wishing to lay down a 'harder line' on training) in the direction of relatively less arduous training. On the other hand, the causal relationship seems to be in a different direction by the 1950s. It had been suggested (page 379) that the form of activity in Judo in the 1920s was due, in part at least, to the fact that Judo had been exported to Britain, and that some adaption of the 'essential' form was required on that account. By the 1950s the movement had clearly established itself more strongly, with the

foundation of the British Judo Association, for example, and therefore it is reasonable to assert that it could assume, in Britain, a form closer to the essential (Japanese) one, although it was still felt that the movement in Britain was

- 'immature' in some respects (see Chapter 3, page 191). The form of activity was in this sense less flexible than it had been, so that those who reached elite level would be people with personal characteristics suitable to the existing form. This suitability involves a physical element (81), a capacity (and wish) to take up the 'philosophy' of Judo (82), and a lack of obstacles to following through the commitment involved in that philosophy (such as an established occupation which would have interfered with regular Judo training) (83). Thus the form of Judo activity which may be seen as the essence of Judo at this time was likely to encourage participation by those of rather lower occupational status than was true in the inter-war period. However, this factor must be taken in conjunction with information gathered by J.M. Goodger relating to social mobility among elite players of the 1950s*. Thus 14 out of 17 members of his sub-sample B experienced intragenerational mobility, in some cases to a considerable extent (84), 14 also feeling that Judo practice had given rise to particular kinds of career opportunities, 8 involving links with Japan or work in Judo administration (85). In addition, 14 of the 17 in the same group felt that Judo had developed in them the feeling that the individual could succeed through hard work or that Judo had imbued them with the ideal

*J.M. Goodger's research involves detailed study of the family and occupational backgrounds and careers of elite players, including consideration of the extent to which 'cultural detachment' occurred during their Judo careers.

of 'all-round excellence' (86), which could clearly contribute to occupational advancement. The nature of Judo commitment at the time, involving in a number of cases prolonged training visits to Japan, during which the Japanese language was learned and possibly useful contacts could be established , and the nature of Judo philosophy thus added to the likelihood of occupational mobility. In rather the same way that Gunji Koizumi may be seen to symbolise British Judo in the inter-war period, it is interesting to look at the activity in the 1950s in the light of the approach of T.P.Leggett. In this case the 'links' are quite logical, Leggett having had a direct influence on Judo approaches at the time (for example, see Chapter 3, pages 209-11), especially in the elite group. Leggett's occupational and other activities may be characterised as 'administrative-intellectual' (87), with intellectual interests which are relevant to the emphases (e.g. in Judo 'philosophy') in Judo in the 1950s, while the ideal of the 'pursuit of all-round excellence' may be related to his own background (88). Thus the 'intellectual-philosophical' tone of Judo in the 1950s and early 1960s is a reflection, in part at least, of the particular nature of Judo leadership in Britain at the time (89).

Before examining British Judo in the 1970s and the present day, it is interesting to note that, in the early 1960s (for example by 1963) there were certain clear pointers to later developments. Four significant ones are the inclusion of Judo in the Olympics (see Chapter 4, page 270), important in terms of placing Judo in the field of sport, the development of National Technical Conferences (Chapter 4, pages 233-5),

for a similar reason, the growth of bureaucratic organisation and growth of Judo in state schools. The significance of this last development has been examined in Chapter 5 (pages 298-9). Judo has also been introduced into public schools to some extent. While no accounts of this development have been published, personal observation suggests that Judo has not established itself as a major sporting activity in such schools. This is hardly surprising, given that a range of well-established sports is likely to be present in most public schools.

Explanation of the Social Characteristics of British Judo:
4) The 1970s

By the end of the 1970s British Judo had increased in scale, the number of clubs and the number of senior individual members in the British Judo Association both standing, by that time, at more than twice the levels of the beginning of the 1960s (see Chapter 3, page 196), and had become far more bureaucratic in its administration (Chapter 3, pages 199-206). In effect, the movement in Britain was independent of Japan, grading arrangements being solely under British control, for example; while training trips to Japan were still being undertaken, it has been argued (Chapter 3, page 188) that the underlying rationale of these had changed, with Japan being seen as a 'training-resource' rather than as the focus of a 'sacred' experience. There was more specific and explicit emphasis on contest-participation, with no evidence of philosophical connotations of Judo practice being particularly significant. In turn Judo had moved more into the field of sport in a number of ways, for example in the application of scientific

approaches to fitness-training and contest-preparation, along the lines of a number of other sports (as foreshadowed by some of the National Technical Conferences - see Chapter 4, page 234).

Taking the indication, previously used (page 382) of the degree of insulation of Judo from other Japanese martial forms, that is the amount of space devoted in 'Judo' Magazine to material on such forms, in 1978 this was 11.8% and in 1979, 10.5%. These are lower than the highest percentages for the 1960s, but the difference is not great. Additional evidence is, however, provided in a 'Judo' Magazine interview with Charles Palmer (90). Here the writer suggests that

"A few years ago Mr Palmer put his 'considerable weight' behind the move to take judo out of the circus like atmosphere of shows at which karate, aiki, kendo and the rest were also demonstrated. He was clearly right to do so. Judo would never be an Olympic sport if we had continued on the old lines " (91).

The 'old lines' here must be taken to refer to the 1960s, as there is no evidence of other martial forms being included with Judo in public displays in the 1950s. It is interesting that the emphasis here seems to be on the 'image' of Judo, from the point of view of Olympic 'credibility', again reinforcing the picture of Judo moving into the field of sport.

Examination of the social composition of elite contest groups in the 1970s must, (as with that for the late 1950s) be undertaken on a limited basis. Taking those representing Great Britain in the 1976 and 1980 Olympics, information is available on the occupational status of 12 individuals, giving the following distribution (Goldthorpe-Llewellyn):

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (AT TIME OF COMPETING) OF GREAT
BRITAIN OLYMPIC JUDO COMPETITORS, 1976 and 1980

Class 1 - 0
Class 2 - 3
Class 3 - 3
Class 4 - 0
Class 5 - 1
Class 6 - 2
Class 7 - 0
Not classifiable - 3

While the small numbers here make comparisons with the group examined for the years 1956-61 difficult, there are, for the 1970s group, fewer people of 'high' (Class 1) status and more in manual work, with none being Judo instructors (as four were in the 1950s group). This suggests a somewhat lower-level status-composition than the earlier group but the difference is clearly not great. It is also possible to refer to J.M.Goodger's study (92); taking members of his sub-sample C, who attained Dan grade after 1960 and who were all active in contests in the 1970s, the following distribution is found, relating to each respondent's first occupation (Goldthorpe-Llewellyn);

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (FIRST FULL-TIME OCCUPATION)
OF ELITE PLAYERS, EARLY 1970s

Class 1 - 1
Class 2 - 3
Class 3 - 7
Class 4 - 0
Class 5 - 1
Class 6 - 1
Class 7 - 1

This distribution matches that of sub-sample B quite closely, with a substantial proportion (higher in this case in fact) being in classes 2 and 3, but with fewer in manual work. Given that the other group examined for the 1970s showed a slightly lower status emphasis as against the comparable one

from the 1950s, but within a broadly similar distribution, it must be concluded that, given the evidence available here, there are no significant differences in social composition between the elite competing group in the late 1950s and that in the middle and later 1970s. There are certain points which need to be made about this comparison, which may help to illuminate changes between the two periods. The first point relates to the ages of individuals in the different groups. Those participating in World Championships between 1956 and 1961 had an average age of 28.6 years at the time of competing, while those participating in the 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games had an average age of 25.1 years at the time of competing. This is not perhaps a significant difference in relation to the achievement of occupational status at any particular level. There is more importance to be attached to an age-related difference in the two sub-samples referred to above from J.M.Goodger's study. Thus, in his sub-sample B, 7 out of 17 had started Judo before the age of 20, while the figure for sub-sample C was 13 out of 14, with 10 having started by the age of 15 (93). The importance of this difference, in relation to occupational status, is that those in sub-sample B had started on careers (or at least had started work) before becoming involved in Judo (certainly before becoming strongly committed to Judo training); on the other hand, those in sub-sample C could have been strongly involved in Judo before they were considering their occupational futures, and so their views of this future might have been affected by considerations of commitment to training and competition. However, given that members of the 1950s sub-sample were often apparently in work which did not prevent them giving a strong

commitment to Judo (involving, for instance, in 9 cases out of 17, going to Japan for periods of at least 18 months (94)) at some stage of their careers, the age-factor may not be significant. That is, what seems to be important in both the 1950s and the 1970s groups is that, at the time when individuals were committing themselves strongly to Judo practice (95), they were not involved in occupations which might have led them to having to make career sacrifices in order to pursue their study of Judo. This is not to deny that there is a difference between people's commitment to Judo leading to them giving up an existing job, on the one hand, and to them possibly choosing a job initially with Judo considerations in mind, on the other; the effect is, however, similar and in both cases there is a contrast with the conditions noted in the 1920s. Attention has been drawn to the number of people in the 1950s elite group who experienced upward intragenerational social mobility, often apparently as a result of experiences in Judo (page 386); in relation to the 1970s group, while there has been less time to see whether mobility has been occurring, it is still reasonable to suggest that certain types of Judo-related occupational opportunity (involving links with Japan or using Japanese language skills) are unlikely to be found, as training visits to Japan are less likely to lead to the development of significant language-skills or of potentially useful contacts (for example, for business), these visits now being shorter than was the case in the 1950s and 1960s (see Chapter 3, pages 182-8). On the other hand, it is still possible for some members of the modern elite to find opportunities for career advancement resulting from Judo experience, thus,

for instance, some may seek qualifications as teachers of Physical Education (96), while in a very few cases there may be jobs 'in Judo' (97) or other opportunities (98). Thus, while the occupational statuses gained initially (on beginning work) by elite Judo players in the 1950s and the 1970s, and those attained by them at the time of their competing in the most prestigious championships in those periods are broadly similar, there are certain potentially important points of difference between the two groups.

For example, as suggested above, there may have been some reduction in the number of opportunities for social mobility arising from involvement in Judo. This is a direct result of changes in the emphasis of Judo activity and in the view taken of training in Japan, between the 1950s and the 1970s.

While it has been shown that no clear and/or significant differences of occupational status-level exist between the 1950s elite group and that in the 1970s, at least in terms of one system of occupational status classification, there are still important points to consider in relation to the nature of occupations of Judoka. It has been argued that one factor in the 1950s elite group's commitment to Judo was that they often held jobs which did not appear to be obstacles to undertaking training in Japan, for example, in the sense that these people apparently did not feel that they were losing significant career opportunities in pursuing their Judo activities. In contemporary Judo, training demands on time are considerable, but they do not involve periods of years in training in Japan. Players do, however, because of the stress on fitness training in present-day Judo (see Chapter 4, page 238) require considerable time

for different kinds of training, and this may put stress on their occupational involvements.

Some details of modern training-schedules may be quoted. Those of two members of the British Olympic team of 1980 show that training each day (training being undertaken six or seven days per week) involves running, rope-skipping and weight-training in addition to Judo skill-training (99). These activities are spread over the day, involving early mornings, lunch-times and evenings (100). The most rigorous training-schedules are likely to be found in periods leading up to major championships and, before the 1980 Olympics, for example, the British Team Squad trained for a period of several months on a full-time basis, living at the Crystal Palace National Sports Centre (101). This might be taken to be an exceptional activity,^{but} obtaining leave of absence from an employer, or taking time off if self-employed, for a period of months, could be problematic if the individual was strongly committed to a career. It is not, however, simply a question of fitting training into a daily working routine; even if the training is not at the level of intensity characteristic of pre-championship preparation, it is still likely to present problems for someone committed to a long working day, in terms of sheer availability of time and energy. Thus seeking time off from work to attend championships where foreign travel is required, for instance, is also important. An interesting example of this is given in 'Judo' Magazine, with Keith Remfry, a very successful British player in the 1970s (102). In one sense this provides an exception to the pattern suggested for the 1970s in that Remfry was,

at one time in his Judo career, training to be a solicitor, during which time he experienced a conflict between occupational and Judo demands:

"I had a choice between going to the European Championships and going to an assize court to represent some clients. I chose the Judo and had to resign from the job " (103),

as a result of which he apparently came to the conclusion that, for the future,

"...the job must come first " (104).

Two points should be made initially about this example.

Firstly Remfry had started Judo before embarking on training to be a solicitor and, secondly, had been engaged in other work before undertaking this training (105). The case is thus different from those in the 1920s where those joining the Budokwai often came to Judo with established professional positions. It also indicates the increased commitment to training demanded in the 1970s, compared with the 1920s (106). Indeed, Remfry points to the general conflict between commitment to serious Judo training and commitment to the sort of job which is likely to have high occupational status:

"There is no-one in Britain who can earn a good salary and do Judo at the same time" (107).

In addition, referring to his continuing Judo practice (having at the time of the interview retired from contest participation) in the light of his work at the time as Manager of a Sports Centre, Remfry suggests that

"I could take a less fulfilling job to enable me to train harder" (108),

which reinforces the idea that a conflict may well occur between Judo career and occupational career in modern conditions. The social composition of the competitive elite

in British Judo in the 1970s is thus to be seen as a reflection of training conditions and aspirations in modern Judo, in the sense that certain categories of occupation are likely, in the demands they make on those in them, to conflict with the demands of Judo training. Those reaching the competitive elite are likely to have avoided obstacles in the form of career commitments, being involved generally in what may be termed 'routine' jobs, allowing sufficient time (and energy) for training (109); looking at this from another angle, those with strong career commitments or aspirations are unlikely to reach the competitive elite while remaining in jobs involving such possibilities. While it is therefore likely that members of the contemporary competitive elite will be found in certain categories of work, there may be variations in the 'suitability' of jobs within the apparently favourable categories, in terms of the approach of individual employers, some being more helpful to their employees than others, in allowing time off, for example (110).

The two major periods of Judo development previously examined have been identified with particular leading individuals who appear to symbolise them. In a sense the modern period is best represented by Charles Palmer, who was President of the International Judo Federation through virtually the whole of the decade of the 1970s. To say this is to recognise the significance of the process, identified earlier in this chapter (pages 364-5) of increasing competitiveness in Judo over the modern period; it was argued that this operated at the level of the contest player and at that of administrators. The connections between these levels are indicated clearly when looking at the

position of Charles Palmer in contemporary Judo. Thus Palmer, who is described as

"Restaurant owner and entrepreneur" (111),
has been praised by the British Team Manager (from 1971-6)
R.Ross, as follows:

"Charles Palmer was absolutely first class for me. Whatever as manager I wanted he somehow managed to obtain. If I said we must get a man to Japan or have an international match, somehow he came up with the money " (112).

This suggests that business skills, in a context in which a search for funds for training purposes has become increasingly important, are likely to be significant (113). It is interesting, in addition, to note that Ross himself became involved in commerce after retiring from Judo contests, and he indicates the relevance of certain commercial skills to his work as a Judo team manager:

"I was able to bring management by objectives and some of the sales technique I taught into the Judo world. You have to sell yourself to the competitors as a leader if you are going to produce medals " (114).

In this sense the competitiveness of the players is dependent on the competitiveness of certain key administrators seeking financial support for training and competition purposes (for example for Squad training). Palmer⁸ also symbolises a new balance of power in world Judo, with Japan being less dominant in terms of competition and administrative influence (see Chapter 3, pages 189-90) than in the 1950s. Thus, while T.P.Leggett maintained close links with Japan, making regular visits there and regarding Japanese Judo as the 'pure' form (see Chapter 3, page 210), Palmer was clearly prepared to exert authority against the Japanese⁽¹¹⁵⁾. This was referred to

in relation to refereeing in Chapter 6 (page 351). While it may be rather superficial to suggest that Judo has taken on a 'business' tone over the 1970s, it does seem that the element of competitiveness, as previously discussed, has increased in modern Judo, thus making certain types of 'commercial' skill relevant, such skills being represented by Palmer and also by Ross.

Processes of Change in British Judo

Looking in more general terms at the processes of change in British Judo over the period from immediately after the First World War to the present day, it is possible to identify certain basic factors in the changes which have occurred. In particular there is a highly important relationship between the social composition of the practising group at any time, the character of Judo activity and its 'message' (which is affected by 'internal' factors, that is, those within Judo, and 'external' factors, from, for example, the world of Western sport) at the time, and the nature of the leadership current at the time. It is not surprising, perhaps, that these factors are identified in this way, as they will clearly be fundamental to the explanation of changes in social movements or in more formal organisations. What is significant here is the particular form that the combination of these elements takes at any time, and the ways in which such combinations give rise to new ones. No particular overall causal sequence has been assigned here to these elements. It has been argued that in the 1920s the social composition at least influenced, if not entirely determining, the form of the activity, the leadership at the time (that

is Koizumi) presenting the form in a way which was likely to prove attractive to the potential clientele, as defined by the leadership. The fact that Judo was exported by Japan to Britain has been seen as an important factor in the state of Judo in the 1920s in Britain; while the social backgrounds of people recruited to the Budokwai in the 1920s set limits on how far Judo in Britain could, at that time, emulate Japanese Judo, there is no evidence to suggest that movement towards 'true Japanese Judo' was not a long-term objective of Koizumi. Again, while Koizumi was aiming to recruit British people of high social status before the Budokwai became a 'Judo' club as such (see Chapter 2, page 96 and n.44), it seems reasonable to suppose that Kano's ideas on spreading Judo, stressing 'upper-class' recruitment (as he had done in Japan) were influential with Koizumi, if only in maintaining what was an existing 'policy'. It is clear that Kano was concerned to export Judo to the world (see Chapter 2, page 152) and so the growth of the movement in Britain would be seen as desirable, given that it did not lead to 'degeneration' and falling-off of the standards thought appropriate for Kodokan Judo. As Kano saw a definite place for contests in Judo, and as he put forward the principle of 'Jita Kyoei' (see Chapter 1, pages 65-6) which clearly implies the value of developing international cooperation and understanding (116), it is not surprising that there were developments such as the international contests against Germany, from 1929 onwards, and the formation of the European Judo Union after World War 2. Elements of a 'picturesque' or 'quaint' image of Judo appear to have persisted, however, until quite

recent times. It is thus interesting to note J.M.Goodger's finding that, in his sub-sample B, 11 out of 17 people were attracted to Judo because of its 'oriental mystique', for example, while in sub-sample C 9 out of 14 saw taking up Judo in similar terms to taking up any other sport, only one referring to the idea of 'mystique' (117). It is not surprising, however, that in the period from 1930 to the mid 1950s Judo should have evolved towards being a more serious activity, with a rather greater physical stress and a developing contest element. This may be seen as an unfolding of possibilities inherent in Kano's formulation, given that British Judo could be seen as a stronger movement as time passed, even if not being regarded as fully mature. By the mid 1950s, however, another combination of elements had developed into a clear form. Here the leadership is important, producing a characteristic form of activity based on a close similarity to Japanese Judo, as interpreted by Leggett (118). In this case it has been assumed that the message influenced the composition of the practising group, with no real indication of allowances being made for the fact that those who wished to become proficient in Judo were British rather than Japanese.

The changes occurring between the late 1950s and the present day involve the movement of Judo more clearly into a different, but well-established area, that is modern sport. This process needs some further elaboration, however. It is clear that by, say, the mid 1970s British Judo was under leadership which supported an emphasis on championship participation and success, while the message of Judo, as

presented in relatively formal statements on Judo (see Chapter 4, pages 258-60) was in line with such an emphasis, the social composition of the elite competitive group being such that, at the very least, no obstacles were likely to be placed in the way of the sort of training commitment required in modern Judo (119). It has been shown that the social composition of the elite groups in the late 1950s and the mid-to-late 1970s is not very different, viewed in terms of occupational status at least (consisting broadly of the type of occupation which will permit strong commitment in training). It is, therefore, necessary to examine more closely issues relating to changes in Judo leadership and to changes in the content of the Judo message, looking at influences on such changes. It is apparent that the present leadership of British Judo is more favourable to the modern state of Judo than was that in the 1950s. This is not a completely obvious point, as will be shown below in relation to Kendo. T.P.Leggett, who has been seen as the leading figure in and a symbol of British Judo in the late 1950s, largely withdrew from Judo affairs in the early 1960s, leaving room for a new leadership (120). It is not possible to state exactly his reasons for this withdrawal, but two speculative possibilities may be advanced. Firstly, it may be that Leggett had foreseen the sort of development which was beginning in Judo, leading to a narrower, sport orientation, and felt that he did not wish to maintain an involvement in it, given that his view of Judo was a broader one. On the other hand, Leggett's personal philosophy seems to have contained elements which would explain his withdrawal, for example, a view of life as a 'river', in which it is necessary to avoid being 'caught in an eddy' and simply 'going round in

circles'; this supports the idea of progressing to different types of activity at different periods in the individual's life (121). Charles Palmer was already Chairman of the British Judo Association at the time of Leggett's withdrawal from active involvement and, with his election as President of the International Judo Federation in 1965 he was clearly in a leading position not only in British but also in world Judo. While Palmer is, in terms of his period of competitive involvement, a product of the 1950s, he has also obviously been a supporter of modern Judo. This might be seen as a conflict requiring particular explanation; it does require consideration of the specific nature of the changes in Judo approach between the 1950s and the present day. In doing so it is necessary to examine influences on the content of Judo messages at different times. Here the most important point is that it is possible to interpret Kano's message with differing emphases, which may be more or less appropriate to different periods of Judo development. Thus, while Kano was concerned with the 'life-forming' possibilities of Judo (see Chapter 4, pages 243-4) he was also concerned to include contests in the Judo curriculum, and a victory by the Kodokan in a contest against a Jujutsu school in 1886 (122) is usually given considerable prominence in accounts of Judo development (123) (as it indicated the superiority of the Kodokan system), which suggests that contest could be of significance under certain circumstances. It would thus be possible to appeal to Kano's own ideas in attempting to justify an increase in emphasis on contests, in effect legitimising a modern approach by reference to Kano. Links between Kano's thought and modern Judo are in fact suggested by Palmer:

"I really think Dr Kano would be much happier with the judo he might see today than he would have been 10 years ago when he'd probably have been turning in his grave at the static, don't lose at all costs judo. He produced a high-activity sport, let's keep it that way " (124).

The existence of elements in Kano's thought which could be used to support contemporary approaches in Judo is perhaps best illustrated by reference to the Olympic movement. Thus Kano was involved in this movement from 1909(125), accompanying the first Japanese competitors to participate in the Olympics in 1912 (126). Given his views, quoted earlier (n.116) on the importance of international understanding, it is easy to see that Kano would have viewed the Olympics favourably. His views may be set within a broader framework of Japanese approaches to Western practices and institutions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example:

"In fact, Japan was very fast in catching on to Western sports. Almost as soon as the nation opened up to Western influence in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Japanese began to play such Western sports as football and baseball, though university students also retained such traditional sports as archery, judo and kendo (fencing). Japan was adopting Western customs and habits in many fields and no one thought it strange that students should also begin playing Western sports " (127).

The Japanese adoption of Western 'customs and habits' has also been referred to by Sansom (128) :

"...the new government (in the Meiji Restoration) began to encourage the adoption of Western ways. This was part of their plan to destroy what were called 'kyuhei', or bad old habits, and to build up national strength by assimilating those material and practical features of occidental life which were supposed to be the true foundation of a powerful modern state. The townspeople, always lively and much given to new fashions, responded with almost feverish enthusiasm" (129).

An indication of the view of the Olympics associated with the

Kodokan is provided by the following idea expressed by K. Watanabe (see Chapter 3, pages 175-6):

"The Olympic Games are regarded as the premier festival by which to express and demonstrate the high ideals of sportsmanship. To be selected as a national representative is perhaps an honour and may produce some personal gratification, but it must be appreciated that behind it lies exacting and concentrated efforts in training " (130).

The above quotation is particularly interesting in pointing to the way in which a view of the Olympics in terms of 'high ideals of sportsmanship' may be linked to the need for hard and serious training; here it is relatively easy to see the way in which new approaches to training, derived from other sports, could be justified in Judo. Even though it has been suggested that

"...the modern Olympic movement was born in the shadow of advancing shamateurism and the amateur question has bedevilled sport ever since " (131),

and apparent infringements of the Olympic statutes relating to amateurism have been recorded as far back as the 1920s (132), it is not unreasonable to suggest that views such as those expressed by Watanabe could have been held realistically and in good faith up to the 1960s. In the 1970s, however, there are indications of approaches being taken to training and competition in some Olympic sports which would severely strain the notion of 'high ideals of sportsmanship' (133). By this time Judo had become established in the Olympics and was, in effect, 'taken-for-granted' as an Olympic sport. The important points here are firstly that, while Judo as a modern Olympic sport may involve approaches, on the part of players, which are not entirely in line with Kano's original philosophy of Judo (for example in contest tactics -

see Chapter 4, page 265), participation in the Olympics was felt by Kano to be desirable, given his view of the Olympic movement (which, in turn, reflects Japanese views of Western institutions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries), and, secondly, that the involvement of Judo in the Olympics was undertaken in terms fitting Kodokan Judo philosophy (134). Since that original commitment (in 1960 - see Chapter 4, n.208), movements in sport which might conflict with Kodokan philosophy have not resulted in Judo being removed from the Olympics but have, in effect, taken Judo along with them (135), with the commitment to the Olympics providing an impetus. There is here an 'unintended consequence' of Judo's involvement in the Olympics, resulting from changes primarily in factors external to Judo. There are other indications that the inclusion of Judo in the Olympics had the effect of shifting Judo towards its modern form. Thus the interest of Russia in entering international Judo competition was clearly related to participation in the Olympic Games (see Chapter 4, page 270), and the entry of Russian competitors into Judo has been shown to have had considerable impact on both the technical basis and the 'tone' of Judo contests (see Chapter 4, pages 265-71). In a sense, however, it was necessary 'politically' for Judo to be shown to be a genuinely international sport, with countries other than Japan having a chance of success. This can be seen still to be a concern of Judo authorities in the 1970s. Thus, in 1975, an expression of opinion by Charles Palmer (as President of the International Judo Federation) to the effect that Japan was no longer dominant in world Judo is received by one writer with the following comment:

"This, of course, is Charlie banging the big drum to tell the International Olympic Committee and the sports world that judo is not an event which one country dominates " (136).

In this sense, the conditions for Judo being an 'acceptable' Olympic sport, involving some diminution of Japanese supremacy, are also conditions for some movement of Judo towards its modern form.

Changes in Judo between the 1950s and the present day, which appear to have moved Judo away from its original conception, can thus be seen to be linked with that conception, in the sense that commitment to the Olympics, for example, could have been made on the basis of traditional Kodokan ideas, with those changes in the Olympics during the 1970s, which moved them away from such ideas, being accepted once Judo's commitment to the Olympic movement had taken place. In this sense, therefore, returning to the point made earlier about Charles Palmer being a 'product' of the 1950s and also a supporter of contemporary Judo, this combination is not a problematic one, as it is possible to see modern developments broadly in the light of traditional Kodokan doctrine (137).

The Case of Kendo in Britain

While changes in Judo can be seen to be based on long-established elements of Judo philosophy, this does not mean that these changes should be regarded as 'necessary', and that they could not have been different. In this respect it is instructive to examine the case of Kendo in Britain in the 1970s, as it provides an example of the sort of conflict in sport referred to by Dunning and Sheard (see page 372), and also provides an instance of the significance of relations between leadership and message-content in activities such as

Judo and Kendo. In the case of Kendo a 'split' occurred within the British Kendo movement, in 1973, leading to the formation of the British Kendo Renmei (Federation), a traditionally-oriented group, in opposition to the British Kendo Association, the more modern, sport-oriented group (138). The leader of the British Kendo Renmei, Roald Knutsen (who was perhaps the leading figure in British Kendo over the 1960s) has referred to this split as follows:

"It is an ethical problem. I feel that kendo is much more than just a sport although sport is certainly the lower level of kendo " (139);

also

"A lot of kendoka will only ever be interested in kendo as a sport, we accept this and understand that only a few will want to go into the deep philosophical aspects of kendo. However, the responsibility of our Renmei must be to maintain the tradition of the discipline of kendo " (140).

Some of Knutsen's pronouncements reflect the approach of classical budo disciplines, for example in the idea of the need for long-term application in training (see Chapter 5, page 293):

"I have been training in Kendo for only seventeen years " (141),

and in the sort of priorities associated with stages of budo training by Draeger (Chapter 5, page 290):

"In sport we can find dedication to training, we can produce good technicians; but we cannot find excellent moral or spiritual training. We will not find in sport the real meaning of Ken-no-michi the ('way of the sword') " (142).

It should be noted that, at the time of the split it was estimated that there were only about 300 regular practising Kendoka in Britain (143); by early in 1975 the British Kendo Renmei was claiming 125 paid-up members in 18 groups (144).

The 'Kendo case' is interesting in a number of ways. Firstly it indicates that changes of the sort which have occurred in Judo are also found in Kendo (that is a movement towards a sport emphasis) but, secondly, it shows the potential importance of leadership in a movement, in stating a position on such changes and possibly opposing them. Thirdly, however, the nature of the message which a leader may be interpreting is significant. In the case of Kendo, apart from being arguably the martial form of the highest status in Japan (145), it is also, in comparison with Judo, a more 'purely Japanese' form. That is, while in Kano's creation of Judo there were elements both of Japanese tradition and of modern Western thinking, reflecting the tensions between these elements in Japanese society at the time, (see Chapter 1, page 48), in Kendo there is only the Japanese tradition. While, as argued in Chapter 1, (pages 31-2), on the basis of Draeger's analysis, the creation of 'do' forms gave rise to the possibility of contests of a sporting type, it is also possible, as Knutsen has done, to appeal to the persisting philosophical elements of the 'do' form to justify the maintenance of tradition. While the difference between Kendo and Judo here could be overstated (that is Kendo history involves some movement towards sport form), there is no doubt that the mixture of traditional and modern elements in Kano's formulation has been influential in allowing aspects of his thought to be used to justify modern practices, in a way which cannot be exactly paralleled in Kendo; it should be noted that Draeger's approach to the development of contests in Kendo is unfavourable and suggests that these were, in effect, a 'deviant' development (146).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the explanation of change in British Judo between 1920 and the present day rests on a number of factors, notably social composition of the practising group, the nature of leadership in the movement and the nature of the Judo message, which has a number of influences on it. In broad terms, as the seriousness of Judo activity increased (from the 1920s to the 1950s), the social composition of the practising group was marked by a decline in social status (generally seen in terms of occupational status) characteristic of group members, the two processes being logically related. Between the 1950s and the present day Judo has moved towards and into the field of sport but, while the focus of commitment has shifted, the level of seriousness involved is not taken to have increased or decreased markedly. This integration into an existing area of activity (modern Western sport), which has itself been changing, has, in a sense, the justification of tradition, in that elements of Jigoro Kano's original philosophy can be used to justify it. The existence of what may be seen as 'mixed' elements in Kano's philosophy has, perhaps, been the reason for the absence in Judo, of the sort of 'split' which has occurred in Kendo in Britain. In this sense, with hindsight, it is possible to see the seeds of modern developments in British Judo in Kano's involvement in tensions between traditional Japanese and modern Western ideas and his combination of these ideas in Kodokan Judo. An attachment, on the part of later Judoka, to some of these elements (concerning sport aspects of Judo) has, in a changing sporting environment, produced modern Judo, in a way which

does not seem, at any point, to have involved radical departures from previous states of Judo development.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1) As has been apparent through the parts of this study relating to the period after World War 2, reference has not been made to Judo as a whole, in the sense of dealing with all aspects of Judo activity at all levels (all clubs etc.). The emphasis has been firstly on the 'central institution' of Judo in terms of organisation, grading procedures, coaching arrangements, etc., involving at time opinions expressed by individuals occupying positions of administrative importance (as representatives of the 'central institutions') and secondly on the activities of elite players, in relation to training practices etc. (as examples likely to be influential in the Judo movement). Thus this study of Judo has not concentrated on 'grassroots' Judo but on Judo as promulgated from the 'centre', on the assumption that, while interpretations of 'what Judo is' may vary among individual players, it is this core of Judo that they are responding to in making their interpretations.
- (2) Weber, M., "Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology", edited by Roth, G. & Wittich, C., University of California Press, 1978, Vol. I, page 241
- (3) This does not fit Weber's idea of charisma; *ibid.*, pages 244-5
- (4) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pages 1111-2 and 1121
- (5) Ingham, A.G. & Singh, G., "The Rationalization of Sport", in Ball, D. & Loy, J. (eds), "Sport and Social Order", Addison-Wesley, 1975, pages 344-57; Guttman, A., "From Ritual to Record", Columbia University Press, 1978, pages 40-47 and 80-89
- (6) Ingham & Singh, *op.cit.*, pages 348-51
- (7) Guttman, *op.cit.*, pages 41-5
- (8) *Ibid.*, pages 82-5
- (9) *Ibid.*, page 43
- (10) It is reasonable to assume that a set of ends characteristic of modern Judo was established to some extent before evidence relating to it became available (in the form of general statements of aims in Judo books, for example), or, to put it another way, there was a lag between event and evidence. It must therefore be admitted that Judo may have become more 'rational' (i.e. characterised by more effective application of means to a given end) over, say, the 1970s.
- (11) Weber, M., "The Methodology of The Social Sciences", (translated and edited by Shils, E. & Finch, H.), Free Press, 1949, page 90. This account indicates that

(11) cont.

the ideal-type may be used to 'map' change but that explanation of change will be a separate exercise.

- (12) That is: "Ancient Judaism", Free Press, 1952; "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", Allen & Unwin, 1976; "The Religion of China", Macmillan, 1964; "The Religion of India", Free Press, 1967. In these works, particularly those on China and India, Weber looks, in detail, at characteristics of social structure for an explanation of certain economic phenomena. This may not be a distinctively 'Weberian' approach but it is taken here to be relevant to this research.
- (13) See for example, Betts, J.R., "The Technological Revolution and The Rise of Sport 1850-1900" (1953), in Loy, J.W., & Kenyon, G.S., (Eds), "Sport, Culture and Society", Collier-Macmillan, 1969, pages 145-166; Furst, R.T., "Social Change and the Commercialisation of Professional Sports", International Review of Sport Sociology, 6, 1971, pages 153-70; Nixon, H.L., "The Commercial and Organizational Development of Modern Sport", International Review of Sport Sociology, 2 (9), 1974, pages 107-131; Wohl, A., "The Influence of the Scientific-Technical Revolution on The Shape of Sport and Perspectives of Its Development", International Review of Sport Sociology, 1 (10), 1975, pages 19-34; Bourdieu, P., "Sport and Social Class", Social Science Information, Vol. 17, No. 6, 1978, pages 819-840; Wohl, A., "Sport and Social Development", International Review of Sport Sociology, 3-4 (14), 1979, pages 5-18; Huizinga, J., "Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture", (translated by R.Hull), Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949 (excerpt in Dunning, E., Ed., "The Sociology of Sport", Cass, 1971, pages 11-16); Stone, G., "American Sports: Play and Display", Chicago Review, IX, Fall 1953, (reproduced in revised form in Dunning, op.cit., pages 47-65).
- (14) Betts, op.cit.,
- (15) Ibid., page 146
- (16) Furst, op.cit.
- (17) Ibid., pages 156-60
- (18) Nixon, op.cit.
- (19) Wohl, "The Influence of the Scientific-Technical Revolution on The Shape of Sport and Perspectives of Its Development", op.cit.
- (20) Bourdieu, op.cit.
- (21) Ibid., page 836

- (22) Wohl, "Sport and Social Development", op.cit.
- (23) Ibid., pages 11-16. He lists the following functions: entertainment, education, prophylactic and health, integrational, efficiency, 'spectacular'.
- (24) Huizinga, op.cit. (excerpt in Dunning, op.cit.)
- (25) Huizinga, quoted in Dunning, op.cit., page 13
- (26) Stone, op.cit.
- (27) Ibid., page 48
- (28) Ibid., page 48
- (29) Ibid., page 48
- (30) Ibid., page 58
- (31) Nixon, op.cit., page 16
- (32) Riesman, D., & Denney, R., "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion", in Dunning, op.cit., pages 152-167 (this is an excerpt from Riesman, "Individualism Reconsidered", Free Press, 1954); Stone, G., "Wrestling: The Great American Passion Play", in Dunning, op.cit., pages 301-335 (this is a revised version of the original in Slovenko, R. & Knight, J.A., (Eds.), "Play, Games and Motivations in Sports", 1967); Dunning, E. & Sheard, K., "Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football", Martin Robertson, 1979
- (33) Riesman & Denney, op.cit.
- (34) Ibid., page 153
- (35) Ibid., page 153
- (36) Ibid., page 152-3
- (37) Ibid., page 164-5
- (38) Stone, "Wrestling: The Great American Passion Play", op.cit.
- (39) Ibid., page 303
- (40) Ibid., pages 303-7
- (41) Ibid., pages 305-6
- (42) Ibid., pages 303-5
- (43) Ibid., page 306
- (44) Ibid., pages 306-7

- (45) Dunning & Sheard, op.cit.
- (46) Ibid., pages 7-8, 176
- (47) Ibid., page 8
- (48) Ibid., page 17
- (49) Ibid., page 15
- (50) Ibid., page 15
- (51) Ibid., page 16
- (52) Ibid., page 16
- (53) It should be noted that they do raise the possibility (Ibid., page 18) that their analysis may not be generalisable beyond Rugby, attempting to counter this possibility by examining cricket and soccer. While this is clearly a fair point, the results of those examinations might perhaps have affected the general statement (e.g. Ibid., page 16) about the importance of clashes of ideology and interest.
- (54) Ibid., page 176
- (55) Ibid., page 176
- (56) Ibid., page 176
- (57) For example, as pointed out in Chapter 2 (n.58), Koizumi spent his own money in supporting Budokwai finances, and he was also concerned with spreading Judo, for example with lessons to Boy Scouts, at low rates of fee. The recruitment of a 'sound' paying clientele may thus be seen as aiming to provide a necessary financial base for 'evangelising' activities (even if it did not always do so).
- (58) Apart from the 'Oriental' basis of his work as an art dealer, Koizumi's approach to Japanese culture (particularly in its 'traditional' form) is further indicated by two articles he contributed to 'Judo' Magazine on aspects of his culture ("Treasure Hunting", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 6, March 1957, pages 18-21 and Judo, Vol. 2, No. 2, Mid November-Mid December 1957, pages 16-21), in which he refers frequently to the aesthetic quality of various cultural items.
- (59) Ishikawa, T. & Draeger, D., "Judo Training Methods: A Sourcebook", Tuttle, 1961
- (60) Ibid., page 47
- (61) Ibid., page 47

- (62) Matsushita, S & Stepto, W., "Contest Judo", Foulsham, 1961
- (63) Ibid., page 85
- (64) 'Western' fencing was included in the 1919 and 1921 Budokwai Displays, while in the latter there were also boxing and wrestling items. In addition, Jujutsu or Judo was included as an item in various Western sporting events (e.g. at a boxing tournament at the Greenwich United Ex-Servicemen's Club, in March 1921).
- (65) This point applies at the level of 'mixing' items in displays, for example; it is most unlikely that the use of 'wrestling' techniques would have been seen as 'legitimate' in practice at this time (bearing in mind Koizumi's approach to the use of strength, for instance).
- (66) This parallel is likely to have been an incidental one, bearing in mind that Koizumi and Kano had not met when the Budokwai opened, and that Koizumi had aimed to attract individuals of high status to join the Budokwai from its opening; it is possible that W.E.Steers and E.J.Harrison (see Chapter 2, pages 93-4) had passed on something of Kano's approach to Koizumi at this time, but it is also likely that Koizumi's contacts with high-status British people, through his business activities, for example, had led him to feel that they might be the people he wished to attract to the Budokwai.
- (67) I am grateful to the Budokwai for figures of Dan grade promotions between 1920 and 1954.
- (68) C.Palmer and G.Gleeson
- (69) Gleeson, G., "Budokwai News", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 11, August 1959, pages 6-7
- (70) Ibid., page 6
- (71) Gleeson, G., "Budokwai News", Judo, Vol. 3, No. 8, May 1959, page 10
- (72) Ibid., page 10. Gleeson certainly appears to have developed, during the 1960s, into a 'radical' thinker (see Chapter 5, pages 303-4), often opposing traditional practices in Judo and the comments referred to here (and n.70) should be seen in the light of concern on his part for Judo 'progress', with a possible tendency to overstatement in relation to earlier conditions in Judo, to which he was opposed.
- (73) Price, E., "Midland Section News", Judo, Vol. 4, No. 6, March 1960, page 24.

- (74) Ibid., page 24
- (75) Menzies, A., "British Team Eliminations", Judo, Vol. 4, No. 9, June 1960, page 41
- (76) Goldthorpe, J. & Llewellyn, C., "Class Mobility in Modern Britain: 3 Theses Examined", Sociology, Vol. 11, No. 2, May 1977, pages 257-81
- (77) Goodger, J.M., "Judo: A Changing Culture", Thesis for submission, for Ph.D., to the University of London, 1981
- (78) While it has not been possible to obtain data on occupational status on exactly the same basis for all comparisons, those comparing elite players in the late 1950s and the late 1970s are on the same basis, as are those comparing J.M. Goodger's sub-samples B and C.
- (79) Goldthorpe & Llewellyn, op.cit., page 259
- (80) Ibid., page 259
- (81) For example, while Gleeson (Gleeson, G., "All About Judo", EP, 1975, page 45) has referred to being threatened with expulsion from the Budokwai for doing 'strengthening exercises' (this probably refers to the late 1940s), by 1957 an article demonstrating such exercises (not using weights) appeared in 'Judo' Magazine, the photographs illustrating it being taken in the Budokwai dojo (Young, D., "Strengthening Exercises", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 11, August 1957, pages 24-5). In the same issue of 'Judo' there is another reference suggesting the development of a 'physical' approach. Thus in a report on a Judo training course, G. Gleeson writes: "I can appreciate what a shock it must be to unexpectedly be faced with rather a lot of 'hardening-up' exercises, but they all took it in good spirit and kept it up to the end of the week. Judo is a very exacting sport, and the quicker this is realised the quicker progress will be made". (Gleeson, G., "Lilleshall Course June 1957", Judo, Vol. 1, No. 11, August 1957, page 25).
- (82) It cannot be assumed that this was absolutely necessary for all members of the elite group. Thus, in J.M. Goodger's study, 5 of the 17 members of sub-sample B (achieving Dan grade before 1960) had not 'undertaken serious philosophical study' (Goodger, op.cit., Chapter 4, Section 3, Table 11). While this is not a complete measure of commitment to 'Judo philosophy', it is an important indicator.
- (83) Going further, J.M. Goodger's study indicates that 6 of the 17 members of sub-sample B had lost one or both parents before maturity (5 before the age of 10), with another 5 experiencing some other form of family 'disruption' (Ibid., Chapter 5, Section 2, Table 1). These backgrounds may be related to a search for a message of a 'life-forming' type.

- (84) Ibid., Chapter 5, Section 4, Table 5
- (85) Ibid., Chapter 5, Section 4, Table 7
- (86) Ibid., Chapter 4, Section 2, Table 3
- (87) Leggett was for a number of years Head of the Japanese Section of the BBC, and has a considerable reputation as a scholar, being fluent in Japanese, having published works on Zen Buddhism, in addition to others on Judo, and having undertaken studies on Sanskrit works.
- (88) Conversation with members of the 1950s elite group indicates that Leggett was felt to possess a range of exceptional talents. In addition to his Judo, linguistic and 'philosophical' attainments, he was said to be an accomplished pianist, virtually a 'scratch' golfer, a tennis player of County standard and a Dan grade in Japanese chess.
- (89) While such a tone could perhaps be sustained better by a practising group composed of professional people than by one with the actual composition identified in the 1950s, it has been argued that such a background (at least if the professional occupation applied at the time of taking up Judo) would have been an obstacle to full commitment to training.
- (90) White, D., "David White Talks to Charles Palmer", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 4, June 1975, pages 11-13
- (91) Ibid., page 13
- (92) Goodger, op.cit.
- (93) Ibid., Chapter 5, Section 3, Table 11. The lower average age of competitors in the 1976 and 1980 Olympics, in comparison with those in World Championships between 1956 and 1961 suggests a lower starting-age in Judo in the former group, although this does not assume that there is a 'fixed' time needed to reach this sort of competitive level.
- (94) Ibid., Chapter 3, Section 4, Table 3
- (95) This is not to argue that the commitment involved was the same in each case; as has been suggested in Chapter 4 (page 258), the focus of training in contemporary Judo is much more clearly on contests than was the case in the 1950s.
- (96) Thus, for example, 3 members (out of 14) of J.M. Goodger's sub-sample C were doing so (Goodger, op.cit., Chapter 5, Section 4, Table 7)
- (97) For example, D.Starbrook has become a full-time British Team Manager

- (98) These are likely to be very limited in number, but one example is that of Brian Jacks deriving income directly and indirectly from his success in the television 'Superstars' series.
- (99) McIver, C., "Olympic Judo: The Official Book of The British Olympic Squad", Judo Sponsors, 1979, page 16. While two schedules are given in detail, it is suggested that those of all the members of the Olympic Squad included the major elements of running, skipping and weight-training in addition to 'on the mat' training (Ibid., page 16)
- (100) Ibid., page 16. See also White, D., "David White Talks to Keith Remfry", Judo, Vol. 20, No. 2, October 1977/November 1977, pages 12-14 and 38
- (101) "Judo Interviews Tony Macconnell" (writer not named), Judo, No. 2, July 1980, page 10
- (102) White, "David White Talks to Keith Remfry", op.cit.
- (103) Ibid., page 12
- (104) Ibid., page 12
- (105) I am grateful to J.M.Goodger for this information, from his research materials.
- (106) As has been pointed out before, commitment to Judo training in the 1950s was also stronger than that in the 1920s. It is not argued here that commitment in contemporary Judo is stronger on any 'absolute' comparison than that in the 1950s, but as indicated in Chapter 4, emphasis within that commitment has shifted towards contest training.
- (107) White, "David White Talks to Keith Remfry", op.cit., page 13
- (108) Ibid., page 13
- (109) There are no instances in the Olympic Teams of 1976 and 1980 of any members of these teams being engaged in what might be seen as 'hard' manual work.
- (110) In Japan, by contrast, Judoka have often been employed in firms which have given them opportunities to train and compete; see "The Champions: No. 2 Nobuyuki Sato", Judo, Vol. 12, No. 4, January 1968, page 39
- (111) White, D., "Charles Palmer - IJF President and BJA Chairman - Hits Out In An Exclusive Interview with David White", Judo, Vol. 15, No. 9, February 1972, page 3
- (112) White, D., "David White Interviews Ray Ross", Judo, Vol. 19, No. 12, July/August 1977, page 14

- (113) Some of the expenses involved in squad-training in Judo have been indicated by Reay (Reay, A., "The British Judo Association Newsletter Supplement", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 2, March 1975, pages 15-17), in an account stressing the importance of obtaining funds.
- (114) White, "David White Interviews Ray Ross", op.cit., page 11
- (115) White, "Charles Palmer - IJF President and BJA Chairman - Hits Out In An Exclusive Interview with David White", op.cit., page 3
- (116) Draeger (Draeger, D., "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", Weatherhill, 1974, page 122) quotes Kano, speaking in London in 1933, as follows: "The spirit of judo, which has as its ideal world peace, concurs with the international spirit; and in this respect, if an international judo federation comes into existence, it will mean the establishment of a real international organization".
- (117) Goodger, op.cit., Chapter 4, Section 3, Table 19. Three members of sub-sample B took up Judo for reasons which might apply to any sport.
- (118) This interpretation may have involved a slight 'lag' behind developments in Japan; it is instructive here to note that a shift of attitudes towards acceptance of the value of weight-training seems to have occurred earlier in Japan than in Britain, if only by a few years (see Chapter 4, page 243).
- (119) There is clearly a danger of circular argument here; what is being argued is that modern Judo attracts enough people in 'favourable' social circumstances (that is favourable to serious Judo training) to provide an elite of this sort. If Judo in Britain was only attractive to people in the type of occupation which would make their commitment to serious training very difficult, it is unlikely that British Judo would have achieved the international success that it has. Such 'problems' may indeed account for the relative failure of British competitors in some other Olympic sports, in competition with 'full-time' sportsmen from Eastern Europe.
- (120) For example, his resignation from the British Judo Association Technical Board (which must be regarded as highly significant - see Chapter 3, page 204) is reported in Judo, Vol. 7, No. 5, February 1963, page 15
- (121) This point was made by Leggett in conversation with the writer in 1975; it seems to reflect Zen thought.

- (122) The contest was against the Yoshin Ryu, at the time led by Hikosuke Totsuka (sometimes, therefore, referred to as the 'Totsuka School').
- (123) See, for example, Kodokan, "Illustrated Kodokan Judo", Kodansha, 1955, pages 10-12; Draeger, D., "Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., pages 117-8; Hoare, S., "Judo and Jujutsu", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 6, February/March 1974, pages 32. Shortt & Hashimoto (Shortt, J. & Hashimoto, K., "Beginning Jiu Jitsu Ryoi-Shinto Style", Crompton, 1979, page 39) also refer to this victory, but suggest that the Kodokan team was in fact made up of 'experienced jiu jitsuka' from different schools, who had joined the Kodokan so that, for them, (that is Shortt & Hashimoto) the contest was not so decisive in relation to the intrinsic qualities of Kodokan Judo and Jujutsu, as is suggested in the other references quoted above.
- (124) Charles Palmer, quoted in White, D., "David White Talks To Charles Palmer", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 4, June 1975, page 13
- (125) "It All Began in 1912" (writer not named), Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 79, October 1964, page 2. (This article is reprinted from the 'Japan Quarterly Review' of the Angle-Japanese Economic Institute', London, July 1964).
- (126) Ibid., pages 2 and 3
- (126) Ibid., pages 2-3
- (128) Sansom, G.B., "The Western World and Japan", Vintage Books, 1973.
- (129) Ibid., page 378. Sansom goes on to refer to the last quarter of the 19th century as an 'almost fanatical phase' of imitation of the West (Ibid., page 378).
- (130) Watanabe, K., "Some Thoughts", Judo Bulletin (Budokwai), No. 75, October 1963, page 7.
- (131) Meisl, W., "Miracles and Milestones", World Sports, Vol. 26, No. 9, September 1960, page 14
- (132) Mayer, A., "I'd Legalise State-Sponsored Athletes... Broken-Time Payments...Part-Time Instructors", World Sports, Vol. 26, No. 8, August 1960, page 60
- (133) There are numerous press references to 'drug abuse' in athletics (for example, the 'Times', 16.10.75, 13.11.75, 23.2.76, 29.11.76, 8.9.77, 1.11.77, 16.11.77, 12.12.77, 16.3.78, 8.9.78, 16.9.78, the 'Guardian' 28.12.78, 29.12.78), in cycling 'Times' 10.6.77, 7.6.78, 'Daily Telegraph' 19.8.78,

(133) cont.

'Sunday Times' 24.4.77, 25.3.79) and on the idea of 'blood doping' in athletics ('Daily Telegraph' 5.3.79, 'Times' 6.2.76, 'Sunday Times' 17.10.76).

- (134) It is interesting that Tyler (Tyler, M., - Ed - "The Story of The Olympic Games", Marshall-Cavendish, 1976, page 71) refers to Judo being suitable for introduction into the Tokyo Olympics of 1964 "...because the sporting conventions of this combat make it ideal for the Olympic Games". This judgement may well have been based on relatively superficial points of Judo 'etiquette' such as bowing at the start of a contest.
- (135) This is not to suggest that Judoka are involved in drug abuse, for example, but that they are likely to accept contemporary approaches to training, and to the importance of competition which are current in other sports.
- (136) Goodbody, J., "World Judo Championships", Judo, Vol. 18, No. 9, November/December 1975, page 3
- (137) This may not mean that every aspect of modern Judo would be entirely acceptable to 'traditional' Judoka, but the steps in the development of modern Judo since the 1950s have been gradual, their potential for radical departure from tradition not being great.
- (138) White, D., "David White Looks at British Kendo", Judo, Vol. 17, No. 7, April/May 1974, page 32
- (139) Ibid., page 32
- (140) Ibid., page 33
- (141) Knutsen, R., "Traditional Kendo or Sport Kendo?", Kendo-Iai-Naginata: The Journal of the British Kendo Renmei, No. 12, December 1974, page 1
- (142) Ibid., page 1
- (143) White, "David White Looks at British Kendo", op. cit., page 32
- (144) Piper, J., "Report of the 2nd Annual General Meeting", Kendo-Iai-Naginata: The Journal of the British Kendo Renmei, No. 15, March 1974, pages 3-4
- (145) Draeger ("Modern Bujutsu and Budo", op.cit., page 77) refers to Kendo as the "...senior, most respected and popular of the modern budo disciplines.
- (146) Draeger, D., "Classical Budo", Weatherhill, 1973, for example, page 105

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